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### LETTERS

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A Parallel between the Manners of its ancient and modern Inhabitants, its Commerce, Agriculture, Gövernment and Religion,

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TO INVILEE, KAD NEARIAN AUTHORS.

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From the Farmen of M. SAVARY.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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LONBON:

PRINTED FOR G. G. AND J. BORENSON.

MDCCLXXXVII.

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SECOND EDITION.

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JITERALISSUE:

### L E TTERS

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Tree we find two Ceptic montheries, at

## the chtrance of the desert. Their churches are obsamelted R Gornthalacdumns, with

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hieroglyphics are foulptured. Their archi-Soundi described, on the east of which are two ancient monasteries, surrounded by the ruins whigh denote the scite of Crocodilopolis. Obt Servations on Menchia, and the ancient Ptolemais of Hermes, the ruins of subich are not far distant & with the state of the neighbouring country. Remarks on Girga, the copital of Upper Egypt, and on Abydus, which Rands to the west. The famous temple of Ofiris, into which singers and musicians were forbidden to enter, is at this place. Remarks on Farchout, and its des lightful orchards. The ruins of Tentyra, near Dendera, and the hatred of its ancient inhabitants to crocodiles.

#### who si is to be h.M. de: M.d ad or at seemed in

ment the lower transfer Grand Cairo, 1779.

EAVE we the town of Achmim, and the serpent Haridi, and let us cross the Nile, where

where we shall see the little town of Souadi, governed by a Cachef. Proceeding westward we find two Coptic monasteries, at the entrance of the defert. Their churches are ornamented by Corinthian columns, with a cross in the center of the capital, and paved with red granite, in which numerous hieroglyphics are sculptured. Their architecture betokens the decay of tafte among the Greeks, and they are supposed to have been built by the Empress Helena. Various antique marbles are scattered over the space that divides them, which indicate the fcite of Crocodilopolis (y). This city was diftant from the river, and Ptolemy places it near Aphroditopolis, or the city of Venus.

Turning to the fouth east, we cross a plain shaded by various trees, abounding in corn, and intersected by rivulets. This leads to the little town of Menchia, which has a large mosque, and a considerable market. The Bazars are provided with commodities of all kinds, and a conserve of wheat is to be had here, much esteemed in

3

Wilers

<sup>(9)</sup> Ptolemy, 1.4. This is a fecond city of that name; the first stood near Fayoum, and was better known by the name of Arsinger and the stood of the

this country, made from wheat steeped two days in water, dried afterwards in the sun, and then boiled to the thickness of a jelly: thus prepared it is called Elneda, dew, and is melting, sweet, and very nutritive. If this kind of conserve, dried in an oven, would keep at sea, it might be of great use in long voyages.

South of Menchia, on an eminence, ruins of entablatures, cornices, and shafts of columns are seen. Here there is a quay, beside the river, and a projecting mole preserves the vessels from the winds and waves. These ruins, and ancient works, recal to mind the great Ptolemais which Strabo compares to Memphis for extent and population (2). Ptolemy names it Ptolemais of Hermes, because Mercury the symbolical deity was worshipped there (a).

Now, while the wind is driving us fouthward, let us look before us to the rocks which rise on the eastern coast, and we shall perceive the small convent Der Hadid, situated in the midst of the desert, surrounded by sterile clists, and caverns which the zeal

<sup>(</sup>z) Strabo, lib. 17.—(a) Ptolemy, lib. 4.

of the primitive christians peopled with pious. anchorets. Can there be a more frightful wilderness near so enchanting a country? On one side nothing can be seen but barren fands and parched mountains, from which the reverberated heat of the fun is suffocating. Turn to the other, and we there admire the copious treasures of abundance. The Dourra; with reedy leaf and swelling ears, shoots up its vigorous stalk; the waying corn is ready for the fickle; vast fields of fugar-canes and flax flourish beside each other; the redness of the date-tree betokens ripeness; the palm of the Thebais spreads its fan leaves, and the garden melon grows pendant over the river banks. Such is the aspect of these plains now, and it is the beginning of December.

We are drawing near to the port of Girga, the capital of Upper Egypt. This city is a league in circumference, contains feveral mosques, basars, and squares, but no marble buildings; well cultivated gardens surround it; a Bey is the governor, whose soldiers commit innumerable oppressions. The Copts are not allowed to have a church here, but are obliged to personn their seligious duties

duties in a convent built on the other fide of the Nile. Girga affords no veftiges of ancient edifices, but appears to be a modern built town, for it is not mentioned by Abulfeda.

After an hour's walk eastward, we come to the ruins of Abydus, where Ismandes built a magnificent temple, in honour of Ofiris, the only one in Egypt into which municians and singers were denied entrance. Reduced to a village, under the reign of Augustus, this town at present contains only heaps of ruins, without inhabitants, but to the west of these ruins we still find the above-mentioned temple built by Ismandes (b).

The entrance is under a portico, fixty feet high, supported by two rows of large columns. In this massy marble building, and the hieroglyphics with which it abounds, we discover the work of the ancient Egyptians. Beyond is a temple, three hundred feet in length, and one hundred and forty five wide. At the entrance is an immense

hall

and lays this is the same monarch who built the Laby-

hall containing eight-and-twenty columns, fixty feet high, and nineteen in circumference at the base; they stand each twelve feet afunder. The enormous stones of the cieling are so perfectly joined, and inserted one in the other, as to appear, to the eye, one fole marble flab, one hundred and twenty-fix feet in length, and fixty-fix in breadth. The walls are loaded with innumerable hieroglyphics, among which are a multitude of animals, birds, and human figures wearing pointed caps (c), with a piece of pendant stuff behind, and cloathed in open robes which do not descend below the waist. The rudeness of the sculpture bespeaks antiquity, and art in its infancy. The forms, attitudes, and proportions are all bad. Among these various groups, we perceive women fuckling their children, and men prefenting offerings to them. The traveller, likewife, recognizes among the defigns engraved on the marble, the divinities of India. M. Chevalier, Governor of Chandernagore, who lived thirty years in the East, where he rendered very effential fervice to his country, examined this antient monument very carefully, on

<sup>(</sup>c) These caps are still worn by the Egyptian priests on festivals.

his return from Bengal, and remarked the gods Juggrenat, Gonez, and Vichnou, Alch as they are represented in the temples of Indoftan. Have the Egyptians received these. deities from the Indians, of the Indians from the Egyptians? Were that queffion answered; it might decide the antiquity of the two people; on it will will and in will will be people; on it will will and in will be people; or it will will be the thing the thing of the control of the cont

At the farther end of the first hall is the great door, which leads to an apartment forty-fix feet long and twenty-two wite. Six iquare pillars imprort the cieling, and four doors, at the corners, head to rour other chambers, to which, however, the heaps of rubbish forbid all entrance. The last hall, fixty-four feet long, and twenty-four wide, contains stair-cases leading to the subterranean parts of this grand edifice. The Arabs, fearching for hidden treafute, have field earth and rums on each other. In those parts into which it was possible to penetrate; we find feulptures and theroglyphics himital to those above ground in The natives affere the apartments are the fathe, and that the depth of the columns below the earth equils their Keight. It hight be dangerous to descend too far theo there vastes, "theware is infected, Bon festivals. A DEC

and fo loaded with mephitic vapours that it is difficult to keep a candle lighted.

Six lions heads, on two fides of the teme; ple, ferve as water spouts ... A very fingular, stair-case leads to the summit of the building, it is formed by the stones being inserted in the wall, from which they project fix, feet; so that, being only sustained on one fide, they appear suspended in the air. Neither the walls, roof, nor columns of this edifice, are injured by time; and, did not the hieroglyphics, which are defaced in many places, thew marks of age, it would feem as if newly built. Such is its folidity, it will stand for ages, unless purposely deftroyed. The coloffal figures, the heads of which ferve as ornaments to the capitals of, the columns, are in baffo relievo; but all the remaining hieroglyphics within the temple are cut into the flone guinnound betaler ,

On the left of this great building there is a smaller one, at the farther and of which, stands a kind of altar. of This appears to have been the fandtuary of the temple of Ofiris. I observed before, Sir, that entrance, was forbidden to fingers and dancers. The Egyptian priests invented seven vowels, to odine.

each of which they affixed a found, like the notes of our gamen (d); and, that they might preferve this invention, they repeated, at stated times, these vowels in the form of a hymn, the fuccessive tones and modula tions of which produced an agreeable melody. This, no doubt, was the reason they excluded all instruments of music from the temple wand to thefe were the Greeks indebted in the composition of their language; which was fo mufical, and perfectly accented, as that a discourse, well delivered, was "a pleafing recitative, "Piccini, Gluck, and Sacchim, have taught us to admire the grating tones of the French language, by their learned and harmonious modulation; what then would they have done with thefe ancient tongues? Let us no longer be aftonifhed at the marvellous effects which are related concerning the mufic of the Greeks; for they possessed all the treasures of melody, all the riches of an imitative language, and spoke, at once, to the ear, the understandingliand the heart. It is now time to quit Distant fay Plutarch. De ffide et Ofride .

dosachiw

off " We remember no fuch passage, norson a Might revision, can we find any fuch in the above cited treaming. It is perhaps an error of copying, or printing. T. the

which, according to Strabo, there was a for rest of the Acaoia, consecrated to Apollo, and of which there are some remains, towards Farchout:

Syene is by no means well established; most of the lands are possessed by independent Arabs. Those who inhabit the mountains, to the east of Girga, pay no tribute, but grant an asylum to all malecontents; nay, often embrace their cause, and furnish them with arms to resenter Grand Cairo.

The island of Doum is not far distant from Girga (e), and above stands the port of Barlodis, a small town dependent on the Grand Sheik. The government of this prince is very extensive, and his usual residence is Farchout, beside which runs an arm of the Nile. He owns a vast inclosure here, in which are planted palms, dates, vines, or range trees, acacia, nabech, and the Arabiant jasmine. Tusts of basil, and clusters of rose bushes, are scattered here and there among these trees, which, though planted

without -

<sup>(</sup>e) Doum is the name which the Arabs give to the fan-leaved palm tree.

without eithen design or taste, assord most delightful shades. Were nature and art combined, charming gardens might be formed, at a small expence; for this happy climate possesses a fruitful soil, water in abundance, the most odoriserous shrubs, and a sky the most serone.

The village of Beliana is also dependent on the Grand Sheik, and fituated between two canals, which render it a most agreeable abode. Facing it are fome hamlets, inhabited by Arabs, who infest the river with their piracies, especially during night Baffing the arm of the Nile which goes to Farchout, we come to Badjoura, whence we fee an agreeable island, and have a distant prospect of the village of Attarif. The town of Haus built on an eminence, overlooks the country to the west; and hides the ruins of Diospolis Parva (f), the little city of Jupiten. ... The Egyptians had fecured this city from the inundation by their labours, which advantage Hau likewise enjoys. It rises like an illand, while the plains are overflowed

with

Parva, between Abydus and Tentyra, on a height, a fituation which perfectly agrees with the town of Hau.

with water. The inhabitants of Badjoura, and the heighbouring hamlets, inter their dead there.

The rocks diverge from the eastern shore of the Nile, near the villages of Casr and Fau; the first was formerly the town of which Abulfeda gives the following description: "Casr is a day's journey south of Cous, on the east side of the river. The neighbouring country abounds in corn and palm trees. A great number of earthen vessels are made there, and dispersed over the rest of Egypt (g)." Since the time of Abulfeda, the town of Casr has lost the greatest part of its trade and inhabitants, and is now only a village of small importance.

The western shore of the Nile, better peopled, affords a more smiling prospect, of date tree groves, down, dispersed around the houses, rich plains of wheat, and pasturage covered by slocks. The small town of Dendera contains nothing remarkable; but about a league to the west are the remains of the ancient Tentyra. Heaps of rubbish, and

(g) Abulfeda, Description of Egypt.

Algeria and in

extensive

extensive ruins, indicate the grandeur of this city, the inhabitants of which, according to Strabo, worshipped Isis and Venus (b), A mong these ruins, on a small eminence, are two ancient temples, worthy of admiration. The largest only two hundred feet long, and one hundred and forty in breadth, is furrounded by a double frize. It is divided into leveral lofty apartments, supported by large columns, which have a square stone for their capital, on which is sculptured the head of Isis. Hieroglyphics, in compartments, cover the walls. Coloffal figures fland at the outward angles, and ten flights of steps lead to the summit of the temple. and is now only always of the

The second, standing on the right, is smaller. The cornice, which is carried round it, and the gate, are decorated by falcons, with spreading wings. A doubled square stone serves as a capital to columns which support the roof. On the walls, various rows of sigures, of men, birds, and animals, are sculptured. These hierosly.

the dentity of the district of chapter, and bard, or . 17. dil odans (d) was an open-

soidq (E) Abulfeda, Defcription of Egypt. " . 5

phics were the history of the times. Could we read them, we should probably know whether these were temples dedicated to Isis or Venus. The same solidity may be remarked here as in those of Abydus, but less grandeur and magnificence.

Before I conclude my letter, I will quote what Strabo fays concerning the aversion in which the Tentyrites held the crocodile, a reptile revered in many other cities. " The " inhabitants of Tentyra abhor the croco-" dile, and wage continual war against him, " as the most dangerous of animals. Other " men, thinking him the most pernicious, " avoid him; the Tentyrites, on the con-" trary, eagerly hunt for and kill him, " wherever they can find him. The Pfylli " of Cyrene are known to possess a certain " power over ferpents, and it is commonly " thought the Tentyrites are endowed with " the like virtue over crocodiles. They " plunge and swim audaciously into the " middle of the Nile, without receiving " harm. During the hows exhibited at " Rome, several crocodiles were put into a " bason, on one side of which was an open-" ing

" ing for them to fwim out. Into this bafon the Tentyrites threw themselves a-" mong these monsters, took and drew them forth in a net. After exposing them to " be feen by the Roman people, they once " more intrepidly seized and brought them " back (i)." A fact thus attested by a judicious historian, who was himself an eve witness cannot be doubted. Do not the natives of the Caribbe islands, armed only with a knife, advantageously combat the shark, one of the most dreadful of sea monsters? There still are found determined men in Egypt, who dare attack the crocodile. They swim towards him, and, as he opens his formidable jaws to swallow them up, they thrust in a plank of fir, to which a rope is tied. The crocodile, by closing his jaws forcibly, indents his sharp teeth fo far into the wood as to be unable to draw them out; the Egyptian swims to shore with his rope; after which feveral men draw on shore and kill the monster. This is not performed without danger, for should the

Roars, averab crocoules a sea, put into a color, cor one an open-

grii Want In

LETTER

fwimmer

fwimmer fail in his attempt, he is inflantly devoured. I have never myfelf been a witness of this dangerous sport; but many people in Grand Cairo have affured me the " be feen by the Roman necessary lai, gnidt "more inte pidly leized and brought them State of the act that atmost by a indicious historians who was himself an eve I have the honour to be &c. alargin natives of the Caribbe islands, anned only with a knife, advantagedidly combat the thatk, one of the moth decided of fer monfters? There flat are found determined men in Egypt, who dare attack the crosodile. They fwim towards him, and, as the opens his formidable saws to fwallow them up. they thruit in a plank of er, to which a rope is tied. The crossille, he cloudy his iams forcibly, indexis his absorpticeth to the into the wood anto be usable to draw then; outs the Egyptian swims to face with his rope; after which feveral men draw of flore and kill the monfler. This seemen performed without danger, for thould the

Strabo, lib. 17

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LETTER

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GIENA, COPHTOS, COUS, AND THE ROUTS TO COSSEIR, ON THE RED SEA, DE-SCRIBED.

Cophtos, Cous, and Giena, in successive posfession of the trade of the Red Sea. Labours of the Ptolemies to protect, and present state of, that trade. Description of the route from Giena to Cosseir, a small town and harbour, but with a good road. Precautions necessary in crossing the desert. Means of rendering the road safer, and the advantages which would thence result.

Grand Cairo.

FROM Dendera, Sir, Giena is seen upon an eminence. The ancients, who called it Cœnœ (k), do not speak of any remarkable building it contained, nor is its present state more slourishing, although become the rendezvous of the caravans that go to Cosseir.

<sup>(</sup>k) Ptolemy, lib. 4. calls it Coence, or the new town.

C A canal

A canal runs befide it, which formerly was navigable, but, neglected by the Turks, is always dry, except during the time of the inundation. Though Giena contains no remarkable edifices, its environs well deserve the attention of travellers. They are laid out in gardens, which produce excellent oranges, dates, lemons, and exquisite melons; and the clustering trees form arbours and shades, the convenience of which are forcibly felt under this burning sky.

Above Giena are the ruins of Cophtos (1), which city, having been built on an height, and furrounded by the waters of the Nile, was conveniently fituated for the trade of the Red Sea. Strabo (m) thus describes it: " A canal, cut from the Nile, runs to " Cophtos, which is inhabited by Egyp-"tians and Arabs. Ptolemy Philadelphus " was the first who made a road between " this city and Berenice, across the desert " without water, where he built public edi-" fices, in which travellers, foot and horse,

ienko Zi

<sup>(1)</sup> The Arabs, having no p in their language, use the b, inflead, and call it Cobt.

<sup>(</sup>m) Strabo, lib. 17.

emit its a colorid Control or she perceeded. " might

" might find accommodations. The danger " of navigating the farther and narrow part " of the Red Sea occasioned him to execute " this work, the consequent advantages of " which demonstrate its utility. The pro-" ductions of Arabia, India, and Ethiopia, " were foon brought over the Arabian Gulph " to Cophtos, which city is still the store-" house of the merchants of the East. They " no longer unladed at Berenice, where the " coast is shallow and unsafe, but at the port " of the Rat (n), which is not far distant, " and where shipping is kept; formerly " this road was travelled by night, on ca-" mels, and travellers steered their course, like mariners, by observing the stars; they

(n) Thus called by the Greeks and Romans, because it is very small. The Arabic name, Cosseir, small, preferves the meaning of its ancient title. This passage wants explanation. Strabo places Berenice at some distance from the port of the Rat, now Cosseir; Ptolemy and Pliry under the tropic, that is sifty leagues more to the south. It must therefore have been eleven or twelve days journey, at least, between Cophtos and Berenice. Strabo only calls it seven. This historian, who never performed the journey, but contented himself with such information as he could obtain, at a time when the ancient road was no longer travelled, must certainly have been deceived. Con-

" were also obliged to provide themselves " with provisions and water sufficient for fix " or feven days journey; but at present they " obtain water from deep wells and cifterns " constructed for that purpose. Mines of

" emeralds are found in the ifthmus they

" cross, and other precious stones, which

" the Arabs fearch after."

The riches Cophtos acquired from its Indian commerce, rendered it exceedingly flourishing; the city became celebrated, and its prosperity continued till the time of Dioclefian. The inhabitants having embraced Christianity at that period, being persecuted by the Emperor, revolted; he fent an army to quell them, and their city was entirely rafed. In the time of Abulfeda, its splendour was gone, and nothing remained but a small place built among the ruins of the former city. At present, the inabitants have wholly deferted it, and have retired to a village a mile distant, which they have named

fult the most learned geographers, and there can be no doubt but that Berenice was fituated on the borders of the Red Sea; and under the parallel of Syene, Father Sicard, and various other travellers, have supposed Cosseir was the ancient Berenice. They were mistaken us zew and I

Cobt.

Cobt. The marbles and noble fragments feattered among the fands, which cover the scite of the ancient Cophtos, attest the barbarism of Dioclesian. The great bason, which was the ancient harbour, still subsists, with two bridges thrown over canals which run by its side.

Cous, formerly the city of Apollo, was enriched by the destruction of Cophtos, whose merchants, establishing themselves there, caused commerce long to slourish, as we are informed by Abulseda (o). "Cous, state of the largest city in Egypt, except Fostat; and the storehouse of the merchandize of Aden, which is first brought to Cosseir, and afterwards to Cous, by a three days journey over the desert."

This city, as well as Cophtos, owed its rife to the commerce of India, and enjoyed great opulence while under the Arabian government; but fince the Turks have seized

<sup>(</sup>e) Abulseda, Description of Egypt. In the thirteenth century, Aden was the most flourishing city of Yemen, and traded both with India and Egypt. Golius and other writers have said the ruins of Thebes were at Cous. This was an error.

on Egypt, and appointed a Pacha, who, with four-and-twenty Beys, prey on this fine country, Cous has undergone the same sate as her rivals; her trade is ruined by the oppressions of government, her glory eclipsed, and her buildings reduced to a sew huts inhabited by a small number of Copts and Arabs. Giena, which has replaced these two cities, retains nothing of their magnificence. Neither the advantage of situation, nor the fertility of the neighbouring country, can preponderate against the despotism of Egyptian government, and the hostile pillages of the Bedouins.

Having spoken of these ancient cities, Sir, it will be necessary to describe this part of Egypt, which is so little known, yet so interesting. Please to examine the map, and you will see the Nile, a fugitive from the latter cataract, bending its course towards Lybia, in the same direction with the mountains. Soon repelled by insurmountable obstacles, it turns eastward, and approaches the Red Sea. The interval which separates them being only three-and-thirty leagues, which was the reason why Strabo called it an isthmus. At the two extremes of this isthmus

isthmus stand Giena and Coffeir, between which is a deep valley, where traces of the fea may be found at every step, but which, though barren and destitute of verdure, is very passable. In this valley, water, and a species of the Acacia, named Naboul, which produces gum arabic, are found. The Arabs chew this shrub, no doubt, to quench their thirst. The mines of emeralds and precious metals, which the ancient writers mention (p), and which formerly were one principal source of the wealth of Egypt, still subfift among the mountains, beside the road; but the ignorance of the modern Egyptians, and the fear of exposing themselves to the oppressions of the Beys, prevent these mines from being worked. A day an agreed and

The port of Coffeir is small, and can only be entered by large boats; the shipping are obliged to remain in the road, where they find good anchorage, which occasioned the Greeks and Romans to keep their navy there. The town, or rather the village, only contains at present about two hundred mud-walled cottages, and is commanded by

the balles odered very considered it (p) Pliny, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus.

C 4 a castle

a castle, flanked with four towers, the fire of which would be fufficient to defend itself and the shipping of the port; but it is suffered to fall in ruins, and its whole garrison is a porter, whose employment it is to open and thut an old iron gate. The inhabitants are a mixture of Turks and Arabs, governed by a Cachef, who is dependant on the governor of Giena. The enormous duties of ten per cent. which are paid in kind, by all merchandize landed at Coffeir, is no encouragement to trade. Yet the tyranny of the Beys, the oppressions of the governor, and the dread of the Bedouins, are shackles much more terrible. Notwithstanding which, the fituation of this port is fo favourable for the interchange and vent of the productions of Egypt, Arabia, and India, that, though this commerce is much diminished, it still subfifts. Any powerful maritime nation might remove these obstacles at a small expence, and afcertain prodigious profits from this important trade; but these must depend on the means employed.

M. Chevalier, Commandant General of the French establishments in Bengal, has lately arrived at Grand Cairo, by the way of Coffeir; and I imagine, Sir, you will not be displeased to learn by what means a Frenchman could protect himself from Turks and Arabs, equally defirous to share his spoils. He has shewn me his journal, which will teach us the proper mode of travening these deserts. His vessel having been truck by lightning on the coast of Malabar, and afterwards difmasted off Gedda, he was obliged to land at this port, and this accident caused him to lose the proper season of gaining Suez; he must either wait for the next monfoon, or venture, with small vesfels, on a tempestuous sea; and this, dangerous as it was, his zeal to ferve his country made him determine to undertake. After combating three months against contrary winds, and being repeatedly in danger of perishing, he reached Coffeir, which place he left in a few days, in company with fix Europeans, mounted on camels. They traversed the long valley which crosses the ifthmus, the bottom of which is level, covered with fand, and petrified shells. This valley is by turns narrow and spacious; here bordered by mountains, from the fides of which the winter torrents tear rocky fragments of to granite,

granite, jasper, alabaster, and porphyry; and there by fandy hills, on which not a shrub can be seen. The sun is eternally darting his burning rays on these fands and naked rocks, which reflect a light injurious to the eyes, and a heat almost too excessive for man or beaft to endure. M. Chevalier and his companions performed this journey in the month of July, during which not even night could afford them any ease; for, the wind ceasing to blow, the succeeding calm left them exposed to the fuffocating exhalations of the scorching fands, which were the only bed they had to repose upon. Amid these sufferings, a little dough, half baked in the ashes, was their sole food, and their drink water, which having been carried feveral hours in skins, rubbed over with an infectious oil, had contracted a fmell and tafte wholly insupportable. To these evils add a continual dread of being plundered by the Arabs, and the necessity of watching all night, and you will have fome idea of what a man of fortitude is capable of enduring. M. Chevalier had foreseen all that might happen. His camels were tied to each other, that they might not separate in case of manual an

an attack. One of them was loaded with two fmall cannons, and the whole company, provided with double-barrelled guns, fabres, and piftols, were continually under arms. They encamped themselves every night, and the camel-drivers were forbidden, on peril of their lives, to approach. The Europeans mounted guard, in furn, while the others took fome little repose. They were indebted for their fafety to these wife precautions; for, on the third day, fixty Arabs approached to attack them. At the very first fire, the guides, who acted in concert with the robbers, fled among the rocks, but the French, with their chief at their head, advanced in good order, and employed their little artillery with success. The Bedouins, after standing some well-directed discharges, fled behind the mountains; and though they returned feveral times to the charge, during the route, the vigilance, dauntless behaviour, and firearms of the Europeans, drove the enemy as often back, whose intention was to pillage, not to fight an available of the fight

At last, after a march of four days and a half, they arrived at Giena, parched by the sun, thirsty to excess, and half dead with hunger

hunger and laffitude; but, having bathed in the waters of the Nile, fed on the delicious fruits which grow on its banks, and recruited exhausted nature with the productions of the teeming fields it fertilizes, they felt a change, a renovation, a happiness, the inexpressible delight of which the traveller, only, who has crossed these deserts, can imagine.

A difafter, which has lately happened, teftifies the prudence of M. Chevalier's conduct. About the same time that he departed from Cosseir, a rich caravan, the lading of which appertained to the English, was attacked between Suez and Grand Cairo. Several Europeans were present; but, to avoid the labour of carrying their arms, they had tied them on the backs of the camels; befides which, they marched at a distance from each other, and without precaution, depending upon the affurances of the Beys, which occasioned their ruin. The Bedouins fell unexpectedly upon them, without giving them time to put themselves on the defensive, seized their wealth, and killed many of them. M. de St. Germain had the misfortune to lose a beloved brother, and two-thirds of his fortune.

fortune, in this fatal rencontre. After wandering three days and nights in that barren wilderness, naked, without food, without water, and almost without hope, he arrived, half dead, at the hut of an Arab, who washed him with fresh water, sed him with milk, cloathed, and conducted him to Grand Cairo. I had this relation from his own mouth: he is now on his return to France, where, probably, his missfortunes will interest and incite the compassion of government.

The inconveniences of the road from Coffeir are not so great during winter; the heats being much less. The fear of robbers is then the greatest obstacle; but, if travellers go in a body, they may fecure themselves from their attacks. Even during summer, if proper care be taken to have a fupply of provisions and water, in jars, or skins, not rubbed with rancid oil, people who are accustomed to these climates perform this journey with tolerable ease. Did the four-andtwenty tyrants, who devour the riches of Egypt, think but a moment on the happiness of the inhabitants, they would cause three public edifices to be built, where the caravans

fortune.

caravans might find reft and refreshment; but their whole ambition is the unbounded gratification of their passions, a reign of a few days, and the mutual destruction of each other. In the short space of three years, I have beheld eleven pass from the excess of voluptuousness to the grave; perishing by the fword of their rivals, whom a fimilar fate attends. A still greater number have escaped by flight. What then have agriculture and commerce to expect under fuch a government? Were Egypt subjected by an enlightened people, the route to Coffeir would be fafe and commodious. I even suppose it possible to turn an arm of the Nile into this deep valley, over which the fea formerly flowed. Such a canal appears not more difficult than that which Amrou cut between Fostat and Colsoum. and would be much more advantageous, fince it would abridge the voyage of the Indian shipping a hundred leagues, and through a perilous ocean, across the farther and narrow part of the Red Sea. The cloths of Bengal, the perfumes of Yemen, and the gold dust of Abyffinia, would soon be seen at Coffeir; and the corn, linen, and various productions

productions of Egypt, given in return. nation friendly to the arts, would foon render this fine country once more the centre of the commerce of the world, the point which should unite Europe to Asia. one part of the shipping were navigating the Arabian Gulph, and failing to India, another would swarm upon the Mediterranean sea, and Alexandria should again revive from its ashes. An observatory, built where the sky is always ferene, would likewife add to the progress of astronomy; and this happy country should a second time become the abode of the sciences, and the most delicious the earth contains. These, Sir, are not chimerical projects. The fituation of Egypt is the most advantageous man can imagine: it communicates with the eastern and the western ocean. Nature has been profusely kind; nor is any thing wanting, but a people worthy to inhabit it, in order to raise it to the highest degree of power and glory.

Collinson LETTER

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# have allke been egget to describe. H. F. T. T. E. J. With the ancient, wind law to the

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THE ROUTE FROM COUS TO THEBES.

THE EASTERN PART OF THE LATTER

DESCRIBED.

A description of Thebes from Diodorus Siculus and Strabo. State of that city under the Persians, Roman and Turkish Emperors. The porticos, Sphink-avenues, edifices, and ruins of the great temple, near Carnac, in the eastern part of Thebes, which building and ruins are half a league in circumference. The plain of Carnac, leading to Luxor, which formerly was covered with bouses, cultivated at present. The remains of the temple of Luxor, and the magnificent obelishs, which are the most beautiful in Egypt, or the whole world, described.

.ovis board of Hecatompylis. . Never

GOING from Cous towards Affouan, we leave the town of Nequada on the right. The Mahometans have feveral mosques, and a Coptic bishop resides there. The island of Matara is very near it, and two leagues further we discover the ruins of Thebes, the magnificence

magnificence of which poets and historians have alike been eager to describe. Citations from the ancients, who saw this city, will give you, Sir, an idea of what it formerly was; and an exact account of the monuments, still in being, will enable you to judge what degree of credit those recitals deserve. The dotted line in the map, passing by Carnac, Luxor, Medinet-Abou, and Gournou, will indicate what the extent was of this once famous city.

"The great Diospolis," says Diodorus Siculus (q), "which the Greeks have nam"ed Thebes, was six leagues in circumse"rence. Busiris, who sounded it, adorned
"it with magnificent edifices and presents.

The same of its power and wealth, celebrated by Homer, has filled the world.

Its gates, and the numerous vestibules of
its temples, occasioned this poet to give
it the name of Hecatompylis. Never was
there city that received so many offerings,
in silver, gold, ivory, colossal statues
and obelisks, each cut from a single stone.

Four principal temples are especially ad-

(q) Lib. I.

White the man the truth.

"mired there, the most ancient of which was surprisingly grand and sumptuous. It was thirteen stadia in circumference (r), and surrounded by walls, twenty-four feet in thickness, and forty-five cubits high. The riches and workmanship of its ornaments were correspondent to the majesty of the building, which many kings contributed to embellish. The temple still is standing, but it was stripped of its silver, gold, it ivory, and precious stones, when Cambus byses set fire to all the temples of E
"gypt."

I have only quoted the principal facts which that historian writes concerning the flourishing state of Thebes, they being sufficient to convey an idea of its beauty; what I shall cite from Strabo will give a picture of its decline, such as it was eighteen centuries ago.

"Thebes, or Diospolis, presents only re"mains of its former grandeur, dispers"ed over a space eighty stadia in length.

<sup>(</sup>r) Diodorus Siculus includes the sphinx-avenues, and the porticos, edifices, and courts which are built round the temple, properly so called; and we shall find he was very near the truth.

"Here are found a great number of temples, in part destroyed by Cambyses: its inhabitants have retired to fmall towns, east of the Nile, where the present city is built; and to the western shore, near "Memnonium (s), at which place we ad-" mire two coloffal stone figures, standing " on each fide; the one entire, the other in of part thrown down, it has been faid, by an " earthquake (t). There is a popular opiii nion that the remaining part of this statue, towards the base, utters a sound once a day. Curiofity leading me to ex-" amine the fact, I went thither with Ælius "Gallus, who was accompanied by his " numerous friends, and an efcort of foldiers. "I heard a found, about fix o'clock in the " morning, but date not affirm whether it " proceeded from the base, from the colosius, " or had been produced by fome person pre-" fent; for one is rather inclined to suppose " a thousand different causes, than that it

(s) Strabo calls the temple, near which was the statue of Memnon, Memnonium,

(t) Strabo is the only ancient writer who attributes the fall of this coloflus to an earthquake; the rest all say it was thrown down by order of Cambyses.

" should be the effect of a certain assemblage

of stones. Beyond Memnonium are the tombs of the Kings, hewn out of the

rock. There are about forty, made after

" a marvellous manner, and worthy the at-

" tention of travellers ! near them are obe-

" lifks, bearing various inferiptions, de-

" fcriptive of the wealth, power, and exten-

" five empire, of those sovereigns, who reign-

ed over Scythia, Bactriana, India, and what

is now called Ionia. They also recount the various tributes those kings had exacted,

and the humber of their troops, which

amounted to a million of men. of a

Before I tell you, Sir, how many of the monuments, described by these historians, still exist, it is necessary to inform you of the distribution of the ornaments, vestibules, courts, and edifices of the Egyptian temples, lest we should lose ourselves amidst their ruins.

One of the temples of Egypt

In front of each of the temples of Egypt

In front of each of the temples of Egypt is a paved avenue, a hundred feet wide, and three or four hundred in length. Two rows of iphinxes, twenty cubits or more diffant from each other, adorned the fides of these avenues, at the end of which porticos were

" built,

frcm

"built, but not in any fixed number. These 16 porticos lead to a magnificent open space, "which fronts the temple. Beyond is the " fanctuary, which is smaller, and in which ", no human figures are ever sculptured, and "very feldom those of animals. " of an equal height with the temple, form "the fides of this open space. These walls "run in diverging lines, and are widest at "the end farthest from the temple by fifty " or fixty cubits. They abound in sculptured figures, after the manner of the ancient "Greek and Etruscan works. There is usual-" ly a spacious edifice, supported by a pro-4 digious number of columns, beside these "temples (u)," Having nothing to confult but monuments mutilated, by men or by time, I hope the above description will supply the imperfection of mine. Thus guided, let us advance to the fouth of Carnak, where we find the remains of one of the four principal temples mentioned by Diodorus Siculus. Here are eight entrances, three of which have each a Sphinx, of enormous fize, standing in front; with two colossal statues. on each fide the sphinx, which are each cut avenues, at the arnound of the porticos were

Jud 13

from a fingle block of marble, in the antique taste. Crossing these majestic avenues, we come to four porticos, each thirty seet wide, fifty-two in height, and one hundred and sifty in length. The entrance to these is thro' pyramidal gates, and the cicling is formed of stones of an astonishing size, supported by the two walls,

The first of these porticos is entirely of red granite, perfectly polished. Without are four rows of hieroglyphics, within only three. On each of the latter, I remarked two human figures, larger than life, and sculptured with great art. Colossal figures, rising fifteen seet above the bottom of the door, decorate its sides; without are two statues, thirty-three seet high, the one of red granite, the other spotted with black and grey; and within is another, of a single block of marble, wanting the head, each bearing a kind of cross in its hand, that is to say, a phallus, which, among the Egyptians, was the symbol of fertility, as when of

The second portico is half destroyed; the gate has only two rows of hieroglyphics, of gigantic size, one towards the south, the other towards the north. Each front of the third

third portico is covered with hieroglyphics of colossal figures, and at the entrance of the gate are the remains of a statue of white marble, the trunk of which is sisteen feet in circumference, and wearing a helmet, round which a serpent is twined. The fourth portico is little more than walls, almost entirely destroyed, and heaps of rubbish, among which are parts of a colossus, of red granite, the body of which is thirty feet round.

Beyond these porticos the high walls, which form the first court of the temple, began. The people entered at twelve gates; feveral are destroyed, and others very ruinous. That which has fuffered least from time, and the outrages of barbarians, faces the west. Before it is a long fphinx avenue. The dimenfions of this gate are forty feet in width, fixty high, and forty-eight thick, at the foundation. In the front are two rows of fmall windows, and the remains of fleps in its fides, leading to its fummit. This gate, fo massy as to appear indestructible, is in the ruftic Rile, without hieroglyphics, and maghiscent in simplicity, Through this we enter the great court, on two of the fides of which are terraces, eighty feet in width, and raised D 4

raised fix feet above the ground. Along these run two beautiful colonnades. In Beyond is the fecond court, which leads to the temple; and, by its extent, equals the majefry of the building . . It is likewife embellished abyara double colonnades each column is above fifty feet high, and eighteen in circumference at the base. Their capitals are in the form of a vale, over which a fquare flone fisulaid; which probably ferved as a pedeltal for flad tues. Two prodigious colossal figures, mul tilated by violence terminate thefe colonnades! Standing at this place, the aftonished teve furveys the temple, the height of which is most surprising, ein all its immensity. no its walls of marble appear everlafting. Its roof, which rifes in the center, is fustained by eighteen rows of columns Those standing under the most lofty part are thirty feet in circumference, land eighty in heighte othe others are one otherd less it The world does not contain as building the character and grandeur of which more forcibly nimprefs awe and majesty a at feems adequate to the high idea the Egyptians had formed of the Supreme Being; nor can it be entered, or beheld, but with reverence. Its fides, both within frience

glyphics, and extraordinary figures. On the northern wall are representations of battles, with chorses and chariots, one of which is drawn by stages. On the southern are two barks, with canopies, at the end of which the fun appears; the mariners guide them with poles; two men, seated at the storn, seem to direct their proceedings, and receive their homage. These are allegoric defigns. In the poetic language of the Greeks, the sun was painted in a car, odeawn by horses, guided by Apollod. The Egyptians represent it on board a thip, conducted by Offris, and seven mariners, who represent the planets. (x)

of Luxor, his greatly decayed; but, if we may judge by the obelifts that remain, it must have been most sumptuous. There are two of fixty feet high, and twenty one in eircumference it the base, and adittle farther, two others, of seventy-two feet in height, and thirty in circumference. Each of these tapers monuments is formed from a fingle block of red granite, and does honor to the genius and

Supreme Being nor can it be entered, or sell, allega, train sinoiging, amog suidenaM (\*\*). Selled but the both reversifier of the lides, both

fcience of the antient Egyptians. There are hieroglyphics, in various divisions, engraved on these obelisks, three of which remain standing, and the other is thrown down.

Proceeding eastward from the great temple, after crossing heaps of rubbish, we come to a building, called, by Strabo, the Sanctuary, which is small. The gate is ornamented with columns, three of which are grouped, and united under one sole capital. Within are various apartments of granite. Here the virgin confectated to Jupiter was kept, and who offered herself in facrifice after a very extraordinary manner. (y)

I have only described those parts of the temple, Sir, which are in best preservation. Within its vast limits are several edifices, almost destroyed, which, no doubt, appertained to the priests and sacred animals. Near the ruins is a large expanse of water; and we meet, at every step, with remains of columns,

sphinxes,

<sup>(</sup>y) Jovi quem præcipué colunt (Thebani) virgo quædam genere clarissima et specie pulcherrima sacratur; quales Græci Pallacas vocant. Ea pellicis more cum quibus vult coit usque ad naturalem corporis purgationem. Post purgationem, vero, viro datur; sed priusquam nubat, post pellicatûs tempus, in mortuæ morem lugetur. Strabo, lib. 17.

fphinxes, statues, colossal figures, and ruins, so magnificent that the imagination is
kept in continual admiration and amazement. Were the ground, occupied by the
various entrances, porticos, and courts, appertaining to the temple, measured, we
should find the whole was, at least, half a
league in circumference; and that Diodorus
Siculus was, not deceived, when he allowed
it that extent, population populations

The plain, lying between Carnac and Luxor, is not less than a league in length, and was once covered with the houses of the Egyptians, who lived in that eastern part of Thebes. Though, according to Diodorus Siculus (z), they were five stories high, and solidly built, they have not been able to resist the ravages of time and conquerors, but are totally destroyed (a). The ground is at present much raised, by the annual sloodings

meet, at every step, with remains of columns (z) Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1.

<sup>(</sup>a) Pocock, deceived by this total destruction, imagined Thebes formerly contained no great buildings, except the temples, and that the inhabitants there lived in huts; or tents, &c. The testimony of Diodorus Siculus refutes this affertion.

of the river, which has covered it with feveral feet of mud, and the ruins are below the furface. Corn, flax, and vegetables, grow in the very places where, three thousand years ago, public fquares, palaces, and numerous edifices, were the admiration of the enlightened people who inhabited them. At the farther end of this plain is the village of Luxor, near which are the avenues and remains of another temple, still more ruinous than the first. Its extent is spacious, and so are its courts, which are entered under porticos fupported by columns forty feet high, without estimating the base, buried under the sand. Pyramidal majestic gates, abounding in hieroglyphics; the remains of walls built with flags of granite, and which the barbarity of men only could overturn; rows of coloffal marble figures, forty feet high, one third buried in the ground; all declare what the magnificence of the principal edifice, the fcite of which is known by a hill of ruins, must have been. But nothing can give a more fublime idea of its grandeur than the two obelifks, by which it was embellished, and which feem to have been placed there

by giants, or the Genii of fable. They are each a folid block of granite, feventy-two feet high, above the furface, and thirty-two in circumference; but, being funk deep in the fand and mud, they may well be supposed ninety feet from the base to the summit. The one is fplit, towards the middle; the other perfectly preserved. The hieroglyphics they contain, divided into columns, and cut in has relief projecting an inch and a half, do honour to the sculptor; the hardness of the Rone has preferved them from being injured by the air in Nothing can be more majestic than these obelisks. Egypt is the sole country in the world where men have performed works like thefe; yet there is not a city on the face of the globe where they would not men only couldemannerfleburgs sti emoofd! bri Such Sir are the most remarkable monuments found at present, on the eastern fide of Thebess Their very afpect would awaken the genius of a polished nations but the Turks and Copts, crushed to dust beneath ansiron esceptre; behold them without eastonishment, and build huts, which feartely gan forcen them from the fine in their meighbourhood. by. Thefe

The sales were the

These barbarians, if they want a mill-stone, do not blush to overturn a column, the support of a temple or portico, and saw it in pieces. Thus abject does despotism render men!

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THE WESTERN PART OF THEBES DE-

A visit to the tombs of the Kings of Thebes, dug in the mountain, through subterranean passages. Sarcophagi, galleries, and hieroglyphics described. Observations on the grand temple, the roof of which was supported by square pillars, bearing statues. Parts of a prodigious colosial sigure found among these ruins. The ruins of Memnonium, denoted by heaps of marble, and rows of statues, either mutilated or sunk a third of their height in the earth, and particularly by the celebrated colossal sigure of Memnon, famous among the antients for the sounds it articulated at sun-rising.

#### To M. L. M.

Grand Cairo.

THE villages of Gournou and Medinet-Abou, built where the western part of Thebes once stood, are surrounded by grand ruins. One league westward of the first are the

grottos named Biban Elmelouk, the gates of the Kings; where are seen the tombs of the ancient monarchs of the Thebais. The road to them is strewed with marbles and fragments, and we arrive at them by a winding narrow pass, the sides of which, in various places, have been hollowed out. Large excavations have been made in the rock, which were antecedent to the building of houses and palaces. The valley widens at the farther end, about two hundred fathoms, and here, at the foot of the mountain, are the passages which lead to the tombs. Strabo counts forty of them (b), Diodorus Siculus forty-feven (c); but he adds that, in the time of Augustus, seventeen only remained, fome of which were very much damaged. At present most of them are closed up, and nine of them only can be entered. The fubterranean galleries leading to them, are in general ten feet high, and as many in breadth. The walls and roofs, cut in a white rock, preserve the brilliant polish of stucco. At the far end of four principal alleys, longer and higher than the rest, is the door of a large hall, in the centre of which a marble

<sup>(</sup>b) Strabo, lib. 17.——(c) Diod. Siculus. tomb

temb is seen, on the top of which a figure is sculptured, in basso-relievo, and another holding a sceptre in one hand, on the wall; a third, also, on the cicling, bearing a sceptre, with wings descending as low as his heels.

The fecond grotto is spacious, and much embellished, containing, on the cieling, numerous golden stars; birds painted in co-lours which seem to have lost nothing of their freshness and brilliancy; and hieroglyphics divided in columns, and engraved in the walls. Two men are feated beside the gate, the passage to which is a long gentle declivity. A block of red granite, fixteen feet high, ten long, and fix wide, forms the farcophagus of the king, who is fculptured in baffo-relievo on the top of the tomb, and furrounded by a hieroglyphical inscription. Niches cut out of the rock, probably, ferved as repositories for the mummies of the royal family. The tombs, erected in other apartments, have been carried away by force, as their fragments attest. There is one exceedingly fine grotto, which contains only a marble lid, ten feet long and fix wide; and in the farther part of the most distant ca-Vol. II. verh vern is a human figure, in baffo-relievo, with the arms croffing the breaft, and two others, kneeling, one on each fide.

These galleries and subterranean apartments which go very far under the mountains, and a very small part, only, of which I have described, are embellished by marble figures of men, birds, and various animals; some sculptured in basio-relievo, others cut hollow, and fome painted in colours which are not to be effaced. These unintelligible characters, which contain the hiftory of the times, conceal, beneath their impenetrable veil, most interesting discoveries, and the most remarkable facts relative to the monarchs of the Thebais, whose power extended as far as India. Torches are necessary in examining these labyrinths, into which the light of day cannot penetrate. Such, Sir, are the caverns where the bodies of kings repose, surrounded by filence and shades. A kind of religious terror is felt while wandering through them; as if the presence of the living disturbed the dead, in the alylums where they have retired to reft, in peaceful fleep.dw andf-tonibelM

Returning from these dark abodes, and proceeding south-east, the traveller soon meets with

with the remains of a temple, on the square pillars of which are statues, that all have had their heads broken off, holding a sceptre in one hand, and a whip in the other. This edifice is little more than a mountain of ruins. On the fouth fide is a pyramidal gate, which was the entrance to a portico. The extent of the courts round the temple is denoted by fragments of columns, and stones of an incredible grandeur. In one of these courts are parts of two statues, of black marble, which were thirty feet high: in the other, one stands in stupid amazement, at beholding a colossal figure, extended on the ground, and broken near the middle. The space between the shoulders is one and twenty feet; the head eleven feet in length, and eighteen in circumference. This gigantic statue is only inferior in fize to that of Mempon. The remains of the buildings appertaining to this temple cover a mile of ground, and leave a high idea of its magnificence in the mind.

Proceeding onward, about half a league, we come to the ruins of Memnonium, near Medinet-Abou, where is the largest colossus of Egypt, which marks the fituation of the tomb of Ofymandyas, for fo Diodorus Siculus indicates. div

E 2

indicates. Before I describe the ruins of this famous place, permit me to cite what Diodorus has written on the subject. "Ten " stadia from the tombs of the kings of "Thebes," (d) fays this historian, "is the " admirable one of Ofymandyas. The en-" trance to it is by a veftibule of various coloured stones, two hundred feet long, " and fixty-eight high. Leaving this, we " enter a square peristyle, each side of which " is four hundred feet in length. Animals, " twenty-four feet high, cut from blocks of " granite, ferve as columns, and support the " cieling, which is composed of marble slabs, " twenty-seven feet square, and embellished " throughout by golden stars, glittering on " a ground of azure. Beyond this peristyle is another entrance, and after that a vef-" tibule, built like the first, but containing " more sculptures of all kinds.

<sup>(</sup>d) Diod. Siculus, lib. 1. The great caverns, where the tombs of the kings of Thebes may be seen, are only three quarters of a league from Medinet-Abou; therefore, Diodorus is tolerably exact, since, at most, he is not deceived above a quarter of a league. Pocock has committed a more considerable error in placing the tomb of Osymandyas at Luxor, on the other side the Nile.

entrance are three statues, formed from a " fingle stone, by Memnon Sycnite, the " principal of which, representing the king, " is feated, and is the largest in Egypt. One " of its feet, exactly measured, is above feven " cubits. The other two figures, supported on his knees, the one on the right, the " other on the left, are those of his mother " and daughter. The whole work is less " valuable for its enormous grandeur than " for the beauty of the sculpture, and the " choice of the granite, which, though so " extensive, has neither flaw, nor blemish, ", on its surface. The colossus bears this inscription, I am Osymandyas, king of kings: " he who would comprehend my greatness, " and where I rest, let bim destroy some one " of these works (e). Besides this is another " statue of his mother, cut from a single " block of granite, thirty feet high. Three " queens are sculptured on her head, inti-" mating that the was daughter, wife and mother of a king.

(c) I believe this infcription was fatal to the colossus, and occasioned Cambyses to break it in two.

The French reads, que l'on detruise; the Greek, virato of T'enov eppor, let him conquer, i. e. exceed, some of my works. T.

entrance

E 3 " After

"After this portico is a periftyle, still more beautiful than the first, on the stones " of which is engraved the history of the war of Olymandyas, against the rebels of " Bactriana. The façade of the front wall " exhibits this prince attacking ramparts, " at the foot of which the river flows; he " is combating advanced troops, and by his " fide is a terrible lion, ardent in his defence. " On the right wall are captives in chains, " with their hands and genitals cut off, as " marks of reproach for their cowardice. "The wall on the left contains symbolical " figures, of exceedingly good sculpture, " descriptive of the triumphs and facrifice of " Ofymandyas, returning from this war. " In the center of the periftyle, where the " roof is open, an altar was crected of a " fingle ftone, of marvellous bulk, and ex-" quisite workmanship; and, at the farther " wall are two coloffal figures, each hewn from a fingle block of marble, forty feet " high, feated on their pedeftals. of This " admirable periftyle has three gates, one "between the two statues, and the others " on each fide. These lead to an edifice two hundred feet fquare, the roof of which

bles a magnificent theatre. Several figures, carved in wood, represent a tribunal administering justice. Thirty judges are seen on one of the walls, and in the midst of them the chief justice, with a pile of books at his feet, and a figure of Truth, with her eyes shut, suspended from his

Beyond is a walk, furrounded by ediff fices of various forms, in which were stables flored with all kinds of most delificious viands. In one of these, Osyman-Myas, cloathed in magnificent robes, offers up the gold and filver which he annually drew from the mines of Egypt to the gods. Beneath, the amount of this reves "nue, which was thirty-two million minas of filver, was inferibed. Another building offi contained the facred library, at the entrance of which these words were read, Physic 155 FOR THE SOUL. A fourth contained all the deities of Egypt, with the king, offerand ing fuitable prefents to each, and calling Ofiris, and the furrounding divinities, to off witness he had exercised piety toward the doff gods, and justice toward men. Beside " the E 4 ai eish I

" the library stood one of the finest of these " edifices, and in it twenty couches, to re-" cline on, while feafting; also the statues " of Jupiter, Juno, and Ofymandyas, whose body, it is supposed, was deposited here. "Various adjoining apartments contained " representations of all the consecrated ani-" mals of Egypt. Hence was the afcent to " the sepulchre of the king, on the summit " of which was placed a circle of gold, in " thickness one cubit, and three hundred " and fixty-five in circumference; each " cubit corresponded to a day in the year, " and on it were engraved the rifing and " fetting of the stars, for that day, with " fuch aftrological indications as the fuper-" stition of the Egyptians had affixed to " them. Cambyses is said to have carried " off this circle, when he ravaged Egypt. "Such, according to historians, was the " tomb of Osymandyas, which surpassed all "others, as well by its wealth as by the workmanship of the skilful artists emfported marble, black and white (\*) "byolq"

ignol

<sup>(\*)</sup> Some very flight deviations from the French text have been made on the authority of Diodorus. T.

I dare not. Sir! warrant all that Diodorus Siculus advances, on the faith of preceding writers; for, in his time, the greatest part of these edifices were no longer in existence. Nay, I confess that, in any other country, fuch marvellous edifices would pass for mere chimæras; but in this land of fecundity, which feems to have been first honoured by the creative genius of the arts, they acquire probability. Let us examine the remains of those monuments, and our eyes will oblige us to believe in miracles. Thefe remains are heaped together near Medinet-Abou (f); in the circumference of about half a league. The temple, vestibules, and perifyles, prefent only piles of ruins, among which fome pyramidal gates rear their heads, whose folidity has rendered them indestructible; but the numerous colossal figures, described by Diodorus, though mutilated, still sublist. That nearest the ruins, which is of yellow marble, is funk in the earth, one third of its height. On a line with it is another of spotted marble, black and white, thirty feet

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<sup>(</sup>f) Medinet Abou fignifies the city of the father. That Memnonium stood here cannot be doubted, since it is also called, in the Itinerary, Papa, or Father.

long, with many hieroglyphics fculptured on its back. In the space between them, the ground is covered with fragments of columns, and broken statues, denoting the arrangement of the vestibules. Beyond are two other colossal statues, totally disfigured, and a hundred fathom still further, the traveller is ftruck with aftonishment at the fight of two gigantic figures, which feem like rocks, and are feated beside each other. Their pedestals are nearly equal, and formed from blocks of granite, thirty feet long, and eighteen wide. The smallest of these statues is, also, one sole stone; the other, the largest in Egypt, is formed of five different pieces of granite, and broken in the middle. This should feem to be the statue of Osymandyas (g), for we find two figures, sculptured in baffo-relievo, the length of his legs, and rifing one third as high as himself.

Thefe

<sup>(</sup>g) The only objection to this opinion is that, according to Diodorus Siculus, the statue of Osymandyas, with those of his mother and daughter, were all formed from one sole block; and this colossus is composed of several pieces; but the first of these pieces, reaching from the sole of the soot to the elbows, comprehends the two other figures, which, perhaps, is what the historian means to say. The remainder is conformable to his description.

These were the mother and daughter of this prince. The other coloffus, of one fingle stone, corresponding to the dimensions Diodorus Siculus gives, also represented the mother of the king! You will form fome idea of the gigantic fize of the grand colossus, when you are told that its foot, alone, is near eleven feet long, which answers to the feven cubits of Diodorus. This statue, the half of which remains on its base, and which Strabo calls the statue of Memnon, uttered a found at fun-rifing. Its fame formerly was very great. Several writers have spoken of it with enthusiasm, regarding it as one of the feven wonders of the world. A crowd of Greek and Latin inscriptions, which are still legible on the base and legs of the coloffus, attest that princes, generals, governors, and men of all conditions, have heard this imiraculous found. You know, Sir, what the judicious Strabo thought, and, I hope, you will be of his opinion. Sir, are the remains of Thebes, and her hundred gates, the antiquity of which is loft in the obscurity of ages, and which still contains proofs of the perfection of the arts in those most distant times. All here is sublime. Thefe

lime, all majestic. Its kings seem to have acquired the glory of never dying, while their obelisks and colossal statues exist, and to have only laboured for immortality. They could preserve their memory against the efforts of time, but not against the barbarism of conquerors; those most dreadful scourges of science and nations, which, in their pride, they have too often erased from the face of the earth.

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WITH pain, Sir, one tears one's felt front
Thebes and her hundred gares (h) Her
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Figurally majorlide, der kings kom so have

# THE ROUTE BETWEEN THEBES AND

A description of Armant, formerly Hermunthis, where are two antique temples, built in honour of Jupiter and Apollo, the latter in good preservation. Remarks on Oksor and its pottery; on the ancient temple near the town of Esna, in which the Turks house their cattle; and on another temple, west of that, where the Egyptians worshipped Neith, the Minerva of the Greeks: on the convent founded by St. Helena, and the cemetery of the martyrs; also on the stone baram, and its use in making kitchen utensils.

### To M. L. M. Thed at speaker

Grand Cairo.

WITH pain, Sir, one tears one's felf from Thebes and her hundred gates (b). Her monuments

(b) I delight in this epithet, by which Homer, at a stroke, paints the grandeur of that city. It is sublime because not exaggerated. A little attention to the porticos,

monuments fix the traveller's eyes, and fill his mind with vast ideas. Beholding colos-fal figures and stately obelisks, which seem to surpass human powers, he says, man has done this, and seels himself and his species ennobled. True it is, when he looks down on the wretched huts, standing beside these magnificent labours, and when he perceives an ignorant people, instead of a scientistic nation, he grieves for the generations that are past, and the arts that perished with them; yet this very grief has a kind of charm for the heart of sensibility.

The wind impells us toward the fartheft limits of Egypt, and rocks, hewn into coloffal statues, already disappear. New objects fix the attention, and the riches of the banks of the Nile are contemplated with pleasure, as we approach Armant. This village is built at the foot of an eminence,

ticos, vestibules, peristyles, and courts, appertaining to the grand temples of Egypt, will convince us those built at Thebes had, at least, a hundred gates. I, therefore, believe, like Diodorus Siculus, that this appellation, worthy the pen of Homer, was rather suggested by the gates of the temples than the walls; for it does not even appear that this famous city ever had any walls. No historian mentions any, nor are traces of any to be found.

edifice,

on which the ruins of Hermunthis are feen. That ancient city paid particular adoration to Apollo and Jupiter, and contained two temples dedicated to them. These time has respected and spared. That of Apollo is fmall, but in good preservation; its walls are of granite. A frize, with hawks, a bird facred to this god, is carried round. The platform is afcended by stairs, cut in one of the fides, and faced every way with hieroglyphics. Four rows of human figures are sculptured without, and three within. The building is divided into feveral apartments. Five falcons, with their wings foread, decorate the cieling of the first; golden stars glitter on the vaulted roof of the fecond. In this are two rams, facing each other, with hieroglyphies, artfully feulptured. Two marble oxen (i) are at the extremity of this apartment, and, round it, women fuckling their children. A large edifice, the foundation of which only remains, fronts the temple; beyond is a large bason, intended as a refervoir for the waters of the Nile! Parthe temples than the walls, for it does not even appear

inundation and or one to ensure the symbol of fertility and inundation and or one traces of the continuous and the edifice.

edifice, which, probably, was the temple of Jupiter, now made a church of by the Christians. The plaister, on which crosses are painted, covers the hieroglyphics and Egyptian inscriptions.

Four leagues from Armant, up the country, is the village of Okfor. Abulfeda fays that, in his time, much pottery was made there (k); and this pottery still subsists. They carry their vases to the Nile, tie them on a bed, formed by palm branches, with the mouth downwards, then put a fecond row on the first, in like manner disposed, and afterwards a third. This kind of raft floats supported by the air, which, included in the hollow of the vases, acts as in the diving-bell. Two men feat themselves upon and conduct them from town to town, till they have fold all their ware. I have feen several of these rafts even below Grand Cairo. Okfor stands in the midst of a plain, fertile in corn, and excellent dates, soriges sw

Proceeding fouthward, we pass two hills, near Gebelein, at the foot of which is the tomb of a Mahometan saint, and, soon af-

<sup>(\*)</sup> Abulfeda, Description of Egypt.

ter, discover Asfoun (1), a tolerably large town, built near the ruins of Aphroditopolis. From Thebes to Syene, crocodiles are frequently perceived, stretched on the sandy banks which the retiring Nile leaves dry. They fleep in the fun; but their fleep is far from found, for they plunge into the water at the approach of boats. They feldom descend into the lower Thebais, and never below Grand Cairo. These voracious animals, though covered with almost impenetrable scales, fly places too much frequented by men, and would rather harbour towards Affouan, where boats come more feldom. According to the anclents, the ichneumon entered the jaws of this monster, while he was asleep, and devoured his entrails. The ichneumon feeks for crocodile eggs, hidden among the fands, and eats, when he can find, them. This was, perhaps, the origin of that fable.

We approach the port of Eina, Sir, a confiderable town, governed by an Arab prince, and a cachef, dependant on the Bey

<sup>(1)</sup> This is the third city of this name; they were so called by the Greeks. When I shall speak, at the end of this volume, of the ancient religion of the country, I shall give such Egyptian names as are come down to us.

of Girga. The Mahometans have feveral mosques here, and the Copts a church, with two priests to perform divine service. Abulfeda fays, " Eina (m), remarkable for its pub-" lie baths and trade, is built on the western " bank of the Nile, between Affouan and " Cous, but nearer the latter. It acknow-" ledges, adds the geographer of Nubia, " the Copts for its founders. (n) Its well " cultivated lands abound in corn and palm-" trees, and its precincts in gardens and " fruit-trees. Here are several antique mo-" numents, built by the Copts, and stately " ruins."

This description is still suitable to Esna, which is furrounded by rich fields, and shaded by orange groves, fertile in flowers and fruits. This city, formerly called Latopolis, adored Minerva, and the fish latus. (0) It contains an antique temple, which has thick walls on three of its fides. Six large fluted columns, with capitals ornamented by palm leaves, stand in the front; eighteen others support the roof, which is composed

Minerva. They, in imitation of the Tonorification (K)

<sup>(\*)</sup> Description of Egypt.

The Arabs call the antient Egyptians Copts.

<sup>(0)</sup> Strabo, lib. 17.

of huge marble flabs. A frize is carried round the building, and innumerable hiero-glyphics carved on the outfide. Those within, executed much more carefully, mark the degree of progress the Egyptians had made in sculpture. This temple is defiled by the dung heaps of the cattle which the Turks house in it. The barbarians do not blush to make cow-stalls of the finest monuments of antient Egypt.

Another temple stands a league west of Esna, on the walls of which a woman, seated, is sculptured in many places. (p) Minerva was honored here, and here the fish latus was cherished. Perhaps the columns of this temple gave the Greeks the idea of the Corinthian order. The foliage of the capitals much resembles that of the Acanthus, except that it projects less, and is sometimes only sketched. The brightness of the colouring of various animals, painted on

<sup>(</sup>p) This woman feated was an Egyptian divinity, called Neith, and which the antient Greeks, named ('A) mun) Minerva. They, in imitation of their preceptors, at first engraved and painted her seated, as we shall see in the course of these letters.

the cieling, is preserved. The Egyptians often used gold and ultramarine blue in their paintings; but, if we may judge by what remains of their works, they did not understand the art of shading, by which colours infenfibly mingle with each other, and give objects the form and effect they possess in nature. Their colours were exceedingly brilliant, but almost always uniform, and laid on distinct from each other. South of Esna are the ruins of a monastery, founded by St. Helena, near the cæmetery of the martyrs, where are tombs, under cupolas, supported by arcades. The inhabitants of Esna having revolted against the persecuting Dioclesian, he destroyed their city, and put them to the fword. This place, confecrated by religion, is become celebrated among the Copts, who go thither, on pilgrimage, from the most distant provinces of the kingdom.

Along the chain of mountains, which run east of the Nile, and almost facing Esna, are quarries which yield a soft stone, called baram, of which kitchen utenfils are made. It is hardened by the fire, and makes excellent pots and saucepans, which do not

give the least bad taste to the food. I shall finish this letter, Sir, by warning you that Father Sicard and Vansleb have confounded this place with Syene, which is situated under the tropic, thirty leagues to the south.

I have the honor to be, &c.

replaced the second of the second second the first of water to the second The mile with the mattery sime. 1 Delleha near Mondamercia weren critis, where are tombes under leupon's ported by areades. The inhabitants of an having revolted against the perfecuting Modelian, he definoved sheir only and pu; tiem to the fword. This place, conferr to y religion, is become eclebrated among the Copes who go thither on pilgrimage, iron the most diffact provinces of the kingdom. Along the chain of mountains, ware you east of the Mile, and almost Their Hins are quaries which yield a lon floor of alled baram; of which kitchen utenfils an rescours, pots, and (furcepans, which do not 3-11

F<sub>3</sub> LETTER

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## LETTER

THE ROUTE FROM ESNA TO THE LAST to sond HEATARACT.

dicient for the deflant

Edfou described, where is a temple dedicated to Apollo. The dangerous passage of Hajar Salfal. Scite of Coum Ombo, the ancient Ombos; and remarks on the crocodiles which are, in these parts, seen in flocks. Arrival at Syene, now called Alfouan. Account of that city, with monuments, folfitial well, and of the image of the fun feen in it, when at the tropic of Cancer. Of the islands of Phila and Elephantina, with their temple and antiquities. Of the quarries of granite, west of the cataract. Retrospective view of the country between Grand Cairo Above Efna is the village of sheet Above verned by an Arabian Sheik and built

the ruins of the Mred My of A pollo.

Wigylgoraid for that slames Grand Cairo.

E now approach, Sir, to the end of our journey. The heat, beginning to make itself felt, informs us we are near the tropic. The burning foutly wind blows in gufts, and mineer

and raises vortexes of sand, pernicious to man and beast, who both seek shelter, the one in their caverns, the other in their huts. But happily this dangerous wind seldom continues above two days, which space of time is, sometimes, sufficient for the destruction of caravans amidst the deserts.

The country assumes another aspect. At our departure from Grand Cairo we saw the land sown; near Girga the corn was in ear, and they are reaping it here, at the end of January: such is Egypt! In traversing it, from one extremity to the other, we see the decoration of the scene sonsibly change. Verdure, slowers, and harvests are in rapid succession. To progressive inundation, and the heat of the climate, must this diversity of prospect, this variety of production, thus extensively and incessantly renewed, be attributed.

Above Eina is the village of Edfou, governed by an Arabian Sheik, and built on the ruins of the great city of Apollo. Here is an antique temple, full of hieroglyphics, among which are then with the heads of falcons. The inhabitants were enemies to crocodiles. Some few leagues from Edfou, the bed of the river, enclosed between pro-

minent rocks, to the right and left, is only fifty toiles in width. This place is called Hajar Salfala, the stone of the chain, and it is thought a chain was formerly stretched across the river. The rocks on the western banks are hewn into grottos. Columns, pilasters, and hieroglyphics, are seen; with a chapel cut into the hard stone. The waters, confined between the mountains, run with great rapidity, and the stream cannot be stemmed but with a favourable wind.

Passing Hajar Salsala, to the east of the Nile, is Coum Ombo, at the foot of which mount are the ruins of a temple that ascertain the scite of the ancient Ombos, where the inhabitants adored the crocodile. These animals are exceedingly common about this height, and are seen descending in herds from the sandy isles, and swim and wind among the waters. It should seem as if these dreadful reptiles had taken up their at ode near the city where they received homage; but, in reality, they are more numerous here, than in other parts of Egypt, because the banks of the Nile are, here, almost deserted.

We drive near to Affouan, formerly Syene, which is to be the end of our voyage, and and where I shall follow my usual plan, first citing the description the best writers of antiquity have given of these places, and, afterwards, adding an account of their present state, and the changes they have undergone. No author has better described Syene and its environs than Strabo (q). Syene is a city " of Egypt, on the confines of Ethiopia; " fronting it is the island of Elephantina, " where there is a finall town, with the " temple of Cheph (n), and a Nilometer, "that is to fay, a wells (or tube) formed " out of a fingle ftone, and placed on the " bank of the Nile, by which its degrees of " increase are measured for the water of " this well rifes and falls with the river. "Lines drawn on the walls indicate the "moment of its increase, the time when it is highest, and the intermediate degrees. "Men, whose business it is to observe the Grifing of the waters, proclaim it throughthe out Egypt, that the year's increase may "be known for, at a certain time, they knows by infallible figns, how high the (g) Strabo, lib. 17.

<sup>(</sup>r) An Egyptian deity, concerning which I shall here-after speak, wo to be sent at ot at dainw " Nile

" Nile will rife, long before it begins to

" overflow the lands. The governors of the " provinces are immediately informed, and

" this intelligence is a guide to the husband-

" man concerning the distribution of the

" waters, the raising of mounds, and the

" cleaning the canals. Officers appointed

" to collect the tribute, proportion it to the

" degree of inundation (+).

" Syene stands immediately under the tro-

" pic; a well is funk here, which marks

" the fummer folftice, and the day on which

" it happens is known when the flile of the

" fun-dial casts no shade at noon. At that

" instant, the vertical fun darts his rays to

" the bottom of the well; and his entire

" image is described upon the water aid w to

"Three cohorts, quartered in this city,

" guard the limits of the Roman empire."

" A little below Elephantina, a rock im?

en pedes the bed of the river, and forms a

" fmall cataract. It is lower towards the

od middle, fo as to give paffage to the was!

enters; but its two fides, wrifing perpendich

oneularly, form two navigable whannels,

of Mckias, in the island of Raouda, except (s) Egypt, at present, pays no tribute to the Grand. Seignor when the Nile does not rife to fixteen cubits.

" which

" which boats easily pass. The watermen

" venture, in their flight boats, to trust

"themselves to the rapid current, in the middle of the cataract, and receive no

" harm. Above is the isle of Phile, which

narm. Above is the me of rime, which

" is common to Ethiopians and Egyptians:
" the latter live in a small town, much like

" that of Elephantina for fize and building.

"It contains temples, in which the hawk

" of Ethiopia is held facred."

The island of Elephantina, Sir, is half a league long, and half as wide. The city Strabo describes no longer exists; but a small village is built on its ruins, near which is a stately gate of granite, the entrance of the portico appertaining to the temple of Cneph, of which, likewife, a building, furrounded by thick walls and rubbish, made a part. A rampart, erected at one end of the island, fecured it from inundation. The Nilometer, to well placed here, to determine the first increase of the waters, and regulate the labours of agriculture, sis no longer to be found and According to Strabo's description, wa may suppose it was a chamber, like that of Mekias, in the island of Raouda, except that it was made from a fingle from; and, instead dbidw "

instead of a column, divided into cubits and inches, the inundation was measured by lines drawn upon the wall. This Nilometer, cut from a block of marble, has scarcely been destroyed; it is probably buried beneath the sands and mud of the Nile, whence it may be again recovered.

Four other islands surround that of Elephantina, which are nothing more than
rocks of granite, from which those enormous
fragments have been cut, employed in constructing the grand edifices of Egypt. From
one of these was that vast cube taken, each
side measuring sixty feet, in which the sanctuary at Butis was cut (t). Many thoufand workmen, according to history, were
three years employed in taking it to its place
of destination. It was the most enormous
weight ever moved by human power.

Affouan, built east of the Nile, is only a miserable place, with a small fort, commanded by an aga of the janisfaries. The

e remained, or least, aboveek - the idean

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remains

<sup>(</sup>t) See Letters on Egypt, vol. I. Mr. Pocock has placed this vast stone in the temple of Minerva, at Sais; but this is a direct contradiction of Herodotus, who describes it, and assume the saw it at Butis; in the temple of Latona.

remains of Syene are on an eminence to the fouth. Columns and pillars of granite, feattered here and there, denote its scite. Here is an antient edifice, with apertures at the top, and windows facing the east; perhaps, it was the observatory of the Egyptians: the folftitial well might correspond with one of its apertures, and the image of the fun be reflected from the water at the bottom. The fact, attested by all antiquity, cannot be questioned, and, while it proves the astronomical knowledge of the Egyptians, ought to be regarded as one of the finest observations ever made by man. It is very aftonishing that, for the space of eighteen hundred years. no traveller has stopped at Syene, a few days before the fummer folitice, to feek this wonderful well, and verify to interesting a difcovery. For my own part, my fortune not being great, and having no affiltance from government, I did not go fo far up as this city, where it would have been necessary to have remained, at least, a week; the journey is exceedingly expensive, and there is no being fafe from robbers, except by continual prefents to governors, and keeping janislaries in pay; therefore, inflead of writing my own remains obserobservations, I have been obliged, with infinite labour, to recollect and verify those of others. It is true I have received memorandums from individuals which have been of great service to me, but it would have been much more agreeable to have examined for myself.

The cataract remains such as it was described by Strabo; the rock in the middle of the river is bare, during fix months of the year, and boats ascend and descend on each fide. In the time of inundation, the waters, collected between the mountains, form one fole sheet; and, flowing over the rock, have a fall of eleven feet. Boats can, then, no longer go against the stream, and their lading is obliged to be carried by land, two leagues above the cataract; though they descend as usual, and shoot the gulph like an arrow from a bow: but the vessels ought to be moderately loaded, and the men who fit at the stern should trim the boat exactly, otherwise they will be all fwallowed up.

West of Assouan, a road to Philæ is cut through the mountain, in the sides of which immense quarries of granite are seen. Here Pocock observed obelisks, and columns half formed. They were cut from the fides of the rock, and, when detached, drawn to the river, and transported on rafts to the place intended. The granite of these quarries, being spotted, red and grey, resembles the column of Alexander Severus, is very hard, and capable of being finely polished.

The Isle of Philæ, only half a league in circumference, was inhabited in common by Ethiopians and Egyptians, but is now de-It contains two magnificent temples, (u) the greatest of which has courts, embellished by colonnades. The entrance of the first is through a pyramidal gate, wit's an obelifk of granite on each fide. The temple within is divided into several apartments, and its marble walls present various rows of hieroglyphics, among which is the hawk described by Strabe. East of this edifice is another, in the form of a parallelogram, open on all fides; the capitals of the columns, which support its roof, are well foulptured. our bewollows the ed fliw ver

Here, from the confines of Egypt, let us cast a glance over the country we have so lately

fornied.

traversed.

<sup>(</sup>u) Pocock's Pravels. Norden's Travels through Egyptand Nubian bare salidado bevindo and

traversed. For the space of two hundred leagues, we have feen a narrow valley, bounded to the right and left by two chains of mountains and hills. This plain, in its greatest extent, except near Fayourn, is little more than ten leagues wide, but every where rich in native treasures. The pyramids, extending from the neighbourhood of Gifa to Meidom, have first drawn our attention. These magnificent sepulchres, raifed by the power of the Pharoahs, have not prevented us from paying our tribute of admiration to the remains of lake Moeris, dug for the happiness of the people. Advancing, we find stately porticos and temples. The ruins of Thebes, with her hundred gates, next drew our attention, and raised our thoughts high as her own monuments; we at last approached Syene, never neglecting to remark the fine remains of antiquity we found in our fouterit is becompaid adark and

To what must we attribute the destruction of taste and arts, under the fame climate, on the fame foil, amid the fame abondance? To what but the loss of liberty; and to government; which; at its will, finks or raises the genius of nations? Egypt, become 11-134

part

part of the Persian empire, was ravaged two hundred years by Cambyses and his succesfors. This barbarous prince, by destroying the temples and colleges of the priests, extinguished the facred fire they had kindled, during past ages, in this happy climate. While held in honour, they gloriously cultivated every kind of human knowledge; despised, they lost both their science and their genius. Governed by the Ptolemies, this genius revived not; because, fixing their refidence at Alexandria, those kings placed their confidence wholly in the Greeks, and disdained the Egyptians. Become a Roman province, under Augustus, Egypt was held the granary of Italy; and agriculture and commerce only were encouraged. The fovereigns of the lower empire, having embraced Christianity, governed it with a rod of iron, and overthrew some of its finest edifices. The Arabs conquered it from the bigot Heraclius, occupied by his theological difputes, and refusing to send a single ship to succour Alexandria, though the inhabitants, for the space of a year, implored his affistance. The rich library was burnt; a fubject of eternal regret to the learned of all countries and all VOL. II. ages.

ages. An ignorant and barbarous people were its last masters; the Turks have, as much as in them lay, annihilated commerce, agriculture, and science. After all these evils, after the revolution of so many ages, is there, Sir, a country still to be found in possession of so many antique monuments? Can the united world produce so many? This sole reflection will give you an idea of the people who once inhabited this country, and of the perfection to which they carried the arts.

I have the honour to be, &c.

query against the Elimpranis, and the

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THE OASES, THE TEMPLE OF JUPITER AMMON, AND THE ROUTES TO THEM,

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Situation of the Oases determined by Ptolemy and the Arabian geographers. Description of these places, habitable in the midst of deserts. The journey of Alexander to the temple of Jupiter Ammon: an account of the temple, and the people near it. Destruction of the army of Cambyses sent to pillage. The unfortunate expedition of this barbarous conqueror against the Ethiopians, and the loss of part of his army. The Oases places of exile, under the sovereigns of the lower empire, to which St. Athanasius and others were sent.

#### To M. L. M.

Grand Cairo.

THE description of Egypt, Sir, would not be compleat, were I to suffer the Oases, dependant on the Thebais, to pass unnoticed. G 2 Strabo Strabo fays (x), " Africa, according to hif-

" torians, and Cneius Pifo, who governed it,

" is like the spotted skin of the leopard, and

" fcattered over with small habitable places,

" which the Egyptians name Oafes, fur-

" rounded by deferts." of the robines of

These remarkable places were known to the Arabian geographers, who call them' Elouah. Abulfeda, their guide, describes them as follows (y). "Elouah, dependant " on the Saide, are a kind of islands in the " midst of fands, and lie three days journey " from the shores of the Nile, across the " defert. Yacout enumerates three, and " places them west of Upper Egypt, be-" youd the mountains, parallel to the river; " he adds, the first is highly cultivated, has " many rivulets and hot fprings, with fields " covered by corn, and other furprifing "things, but that the people there are "wretched." Here, Sir, we see the Oases of the Greeks. We partly know their distances from the Nile. Ptolemy thus fixes their latitude (2), the largest at

<sup>(</sup>x) Strabo, lib. 2.

<sup>(</sup>y) Description of Egypt.

<sup>(</sup>z) Ptol. lib. 4.

26°. 30', under the same parallel with Abydus, which the Arabs have named El Berbi, the temple, on account of the edifice found there; the fecond at 25% 45. that is to fay, facing Behnefa; and the most northerly at 29°. 30'. under the parallel of Lake Mæris. Let us now find near which of them the temple of Jupiter Ammon was built, and the route of Alexander will direct our fearch. " Alexander having quelled Upper Egypt (a), without making any alteration on the form of government, refolved to "dgo to the temple of Jupiter Ammon. The road thither is almost impracticable. "the earth is without fprings, the heavens " without water. Immense fandy plains are every where feen, which, continually, so feorched by the fun's rays, are intolerable great the foles of the feet. ve A prey to drought and heat, travellers are obliged ento crois deep lands; thefe, giving way at wevery flep, render walking exceedingly "painful The Egyptians exaggerated thefe "difficulties, but nothing could ftop Alex-" ander, whose ardent desires impelled him " to visit the oracle of Jupiter, Not satis-

<sup>202 (</sup>a) Quin. Cur. lib. 4. cap. 7. " fied

" fied with human greatness, he believed, or would have had others believe, the god " was his father (b) ... He and the persons " chosen to accompany this went, by wa-" ter, as far as Lake Mareotis, and depart-" ed thence to accomplish his purpose, The " two first days the fatigue was not very " great, they walked on a sterile soil, but " had not yet entered the wast and naked " wilderness of As they proceeded they per-" ceived nothing around them but fand on " fand, without trees, plants, or the leaft " trace of culture. In the midft of thefe " parched deferts, they, like failors, looked " earnestly for land; the water which the " camels carried in fkins was foon all gone, " and the loss was irreparable in a place " where no fprings could be found, and "where every thing was burnt up by the " fun. In this extremity, whether it was " the effect of chance, or the benevolence " of the gods, the heavens were overfpread " with clouds, and the rain fell in torrents, conferred to the aracle of Amuson

" restoring

<sup>(</sup>b) Callifthenes, according to Strabo, fays that Alexander, when he undertook this voyage, wished to imitate Perseus and Hercules, who had done so before him.

restoring life to wretches expiring with thirst, and sinking under the excess of the heats. At last, after four days march, across this fearful desert, they arrived at the territory facred to Jupiter Ammon. What was their assonishment at finding, in a country surrounded by deserts, forests whose thick shades were impenetrable to the fun, brooks of excellent water, and a climate deliciously temperate, enjoying, all the year, the charms of spring and salusting the print of these woods.

"The inhabitants of these woods, named " Ammonians, refide in foattered huts. A " triple wall, built in the centre of the " grove, ferved them as a citadel. The " first enclosure contained the ancient palace ", of their kings; the fecond, in which the " temple stands, was appropriated to the " women, children and concubines; and the " warriors, appointed to defend this afylum, " dwelt in the third. The fountain of the " fun ran in another grove; in like manner, " confecrated to the oracle of Ammon. Its " water is tepid in the morning, cool at noon, hot in the evening, and fealding at " midnight. The statue revered here does G 4

" not relemble the deities usually formed by

feulptors. Made of emeralds and precious

" stones, it has the form of a ram, (c) from

" the head to the waish. \* When any one

" wither to confult it, the priests bear it

" in a gilded boat, to which, on each fide,

" are suspended cups of silver. Matrons and

" virgins follow, finging an uncouth hymn,

"after an ancient custom, by which they

" believe Jupiter will be rendered propitious,

" and return them a true answer."

Alexander departed from the lake Marcotis to go to this temple. The two first days he marched over a barren country, but where they did not fink in; that is to say, he kept westward, on the sea shore, for had he gone south, or south-west, he would immediately have entered a defert covered with deep sands.

+Curting

<sup>(</sup>c) This idol has the form of a ram, because that animal was consecrated to Jupiter Ammon, a symbolical deity, signifying the sun arrived at the sign of Aries, or the Ram. The boat in which they carried it represented the vessel in which the Egyptians placed the sun, describing his course through the zodiac. These symbols will be explained in the following letters.

The learned are aware of the various readings and doubts on this passage. T.

Seven or eight leagues from Paratonium, he entered the burning wilderness, in which he made a four days march, and then immediately took the direction of the habitation of the Ammonians, nearly following the dotted line traced upon the map. This Lam perfunded of, because Ptolemy places the first Oasis under the same parallel as lake Mæris; from which Oasis Strabo (d) affirms the temple of Ammon was not far distant. Callishenes, who makes Alexander take his departure from Parætonium, does not wander far from our route; and it is possible the conqueror went to that city, and, afterwards, turned south, of a paraton in the land to his

Augustus, the Sibylline verses, and the divinations of the Etruscans, had deprived the oracle of Ammon of much of its credit. In the thirteenth century it was forgotten, but the Arabs affure us that country still possessed inhabitants. From their writings it appears that the sountain of the sun, which Quintus

<sup>(</sup>d) Strabo, lib. 17. Not the first, but third, according to Strabo, i. e. M. Savary has reversed the order by some oversight. They are properly placed in the map. T.

<sup>(</sup>e) Strabo, ubi fupra.

Curtius describes so marvellously, was only a hot spring, which had less heat during the day, and greater at night.

The Oases became places of exile under the monarchs of the lower empire, who, infatuated by Theology, a fludy which should occupy only those to whom religion has confided the facred trust, and employed in causing sometimes truth and fometimes falshood to triumph, fent, by turns, heretics and orthodox. believers hither. Nestorius and St. Athananus were both exiles here. The Digest contains the following paffage(f): " There is a kind " of exile which confifts in banishing the " guilty to the Oases of Egypt, where they " remain as in an island." St. Athanasius, in his apology, complains of this barbarity. "The Arians," fays he, "have outgone the " emperor's orders, in fending old men and " bishops amidst these fearful deserts. Those " of Lybia, in the great Oasis; and those " of the Thebais, in the Oasis of Ammon; " to the end that they may perish in tra-" yerfing burning fands."

These habitations, become famous by the banishment of the most learned men of the

(f) Lib. 48. tit. 22.

them

lower

lower empire, were little known to the Perfians. Cambyses, having ravaged Egypt, wished to seize the spoils of the temple of Jupiter Ammon. (g) "The troops he fent " against the Ammonians departed from "Thebes, and came to the city of Oasis, " inhabited by the Samians, of the tribe of "Æschrionia, which country is seven days " march from the metropolis of Egypt, and " is called, by the Greeks, the isle of the " bleft. The army arrived there, as it is " faid, but the Ammonians only know what " became of them afterwards, for they were " never heard of more. They fay that, " marching towards the temple of Jupiter, " as they went, they were buried under tor-" rents of burning fands, which the fouth " winds raised." The route of the army makes it plain the guides, who detested the Persians, led them astray amidst the desert; for they should have departed from the lake Mareotis to this temple; or from the environs of Memphis. The Egyptians, intending the destruction of their enemies, led them from Thebes to the great Oasis, three days journey from Abydus, and, having brought

(g) Herodotus, lib. 3.

them into the vast solitudes of Lybia, they, no doubt, abandoned them, in the night, and delivered them over to death.

The Oasis of Ammon is little known to the modern Egyptians, but the fecond more fo, Abulfeda places there a city, named Behnefa; (b) not the fame Behnefa which stands on the canal of Joseph, and which corresponds with the town of Achmounain, where there are magnificent antique remains. The great Oasis, most frequented of the three, because on the road which the caravans from Abyssinia travel, has a great number of inhabitants. The Bey of Girga fends a cachef, as governor, and to levy tribute. When the Abyffinians leave Egypt, on their return, and have refreshed themselves in that fruitful valley, they proceed fouth, and come to another, situated under the tropic, which the Geographer of Nubia thus defcribes. The country of Elouah, west of " Affouan, was formerly very populous, but " is no longer inhabited; here are many

<sup>(</sup>b) "Behnela is a city, fituated near the canal of "Joseph. There is another city of this name, in the country of Elouah, on the confines of the land of the negroes." Abul. Def. of Egypt.

<sup>&</sup>quot; fprings,

" fprings, rivulets, and fruit-trees, with cities " buried in their own ruins." Another part of the army of Cambyles was destroyed, passing from this valley into Ethiopia. " Cam-" byfes (i), being come to Thebes, chose " fifty thousand men whom he commanded " to pillage, and burn, the temple of Jupiter " Ammon. He himself marched against " the Ethiopians with the remainder of his " army; but, before he had proceeded one-" fifth of the way, his provisions were all " exhausted. They eat their horses, but " this was a short resource. Had wisdom " been his guide, this prince would have " returned; but, impelled by blind fury, he " went on. So long as the foldiers found " herbs and plants they fed on them; but, " this poor support failing them in the midst " of fands, they cast lots, and every tenth " man was devoured by his companions. " At this dreadful news, the Persian king " abandoned his expedition into Ethiopia; " and, returning back, arrived at Thebes, " after the loss of half his army (k).

<sup>(</sup>k) It is very probable that here, as before, the guides missed Cambyses, who set fire to all the temples of Egypt.

What happens at present, in performing this journey, proves the event to be very credible. Travellers, departing from the fertile valley lying under the tropic, march feven days before they come to the first town in Ethiopia. They find their way, in the day time, by looking at marks; and, at night, by observing the stars. The fand hills they had observed on the preceding journey having been often carried away by the winds, deceive the guides; and, if they wander the least out of their road, the carnels, having passed five or fix days without drinking, fink under their burthen, and die: the men are not long before they submit to the same fate, and, fometimes, out of a great number, not a fingle traveller escapes; at others, the burning winds of the fouth raise vortexes of dust, which suffocate man and beast; and the next caravan fees the ground strewed with bodies, totally parched up. This horrid fight, these dreadful dangers, do not terrify the Abyffinians, who, from the earliest ages, have brought gold dust, musk, and elephants teeth into Egypt. So great is the power of habit ancient people what be its birt lead maine

I have the honor to be, &c.

LETTER

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## LETTER VIII.

# OBSERVATIONS ON THE INCREASE OF THE NILE.

Remarks on the Nile, its sources, and the phanomena attending its overflowing. At what time the mound is opened at the head of the canal that leads to Grand Cairo. The festivals and rejoicings. Nocturnal excursions, on the waters which fill the great squares of the capital; and the pleasures they afford. What means might be employed to ensure a regular inundation over Egypt, and never-failing plenty.

### Thub to select To M. L. M. In Tousen the

exen one bas in ad the main at Grand Cairo.

THE Nile, Sir, is the most famous river on earth. Travellers, of all ages, have described the secundity of its waters, with enthusiasm. Its seven mouths are celebrated by the Poets, and history is silled with the miracles its inundations produce. To the ancient people who, on its banks, nurtured and brought the infant arts to perfection, it

owes this celebrity: oppressed, as it were, by its bounties, they appointed festivals in its honour, and erected altars as to a god; or, at least, as to the first of God's gifts. Had this river sed only Turks and Arabs, its name, like so many others, would have been known but in maps; its glory was united to that of a famous nation, and all the ends of the earth came to admire the works raised to contain it, and the immortal monuments erected on its borders.

Except the Egyptians, the ancients were all ignorant of its origin. A Portuguese Jefuit, in the last century, pretended he had made the discovery. His words are these: "In the province Sahala, west of the king-" dom of Goyam, called by the inhabitants " Agous, are the sources of the Nile. ". first flows from two deep springs, which " both lie high; the earth furrounding " them is boggy, and trembles under the " step. The water spouts from the moun-" tain with a noise like the explosion of a " cannon. After proceeding some distance " through the valley, it receives a second " rivulet, coming from the east, and these, " united, direct their course north. Two other

"them, and form a stream which joins the river Yeman; after long circuits, east and west, these fall into a great lake; then, leaving the lake, they form the river Nile, which takes its hasty course toward the Mediterranean."

Be this as it may, these waters would not be fufficient for the general inundation which covers the earth for a space of four hundred leagues, for it extends to Ethiopia; but, during the months, March, April, May, and June, the north winds drive the clouds toward the high mountains, beyond the Equator. Stopped by this barrier, clouds on clouds accumulate, till they descend in rain, which falls in torrents, and fills the vallies. The union of an innumerable multitude of rivulets forms the Nile, and produces the inundation. From the unanimous testimony of the Abyflinians, who bring gold duft to Grand Cairo, this river, taking it rife in. Ethiopia, divides into two branches, one of which, known by the name of Afferac, or the blue river, joins the Niger, and, traverling Africa from east to west, falls into effice, direct their Hourie north . Joyo

the Atlantic Ocean: the other, running north, between two chains of mountains, and meeting with the rocks of granite which impede its course, forms fix cataracts, much more terrible than that of Syene, and these frightful waterfalls absolutely impede its navigation; but, arrived at the first city in Egypt, it falls eleven seet, into the gulph itself has dug, and the perils of which the watermen dare sace. Descending through this sine country, it fills the canals and lakes, overslows the lands, deposits a fruitful slime, and discharges itself, as somerly, through seven mouths, into the Mediterranean.

The Nile's increase begins early in June, but is not much perceived till the summer solftice; when the waters become troubled, of a reddish tincture, and are thought unwholsome. They must be purified before drank; which is done by mixing bitter almonds, pounded to dust, in a jar sull of water, and kept turning, with the arm, for some minutes: it is then left to settle, and, in five or six hours, the heterogenous particles subside to the bottom of the vessel, and

the water becomes limpid and excellent (1). The Egyptains attribute this fermentation of the Nile to the dew, which then falls in abundance. Many historians have seriously affirmed it contributed to the inundation. It is much more natural to think the river, overslowing in Abyssinia and Ethiopia, brings down a great quantity of sand, and millions of the eggs of insects, which, hatching about the time of the solftice, produce the fermentation of the waters, and that reddish tincture which renders them unhealthy.

The Nile continues increasing till near the end of August, and, often, even, in September. The Nilometer at Elephantina formerly denoted to what degree the inundation would rise. The experience of ages had afforded marks known to those whose trust it was to watch. The governors of the provinces were instantly informed, and the necessary labours for the good of agriculture were regulated accordingly. When

<sup>(1)</sup> I have made the same experiment, which I had seen practised in Egypt, on the waters of the Seine, when they were troubled, and yellow, and found the same consequences; but it is necessary the vessel should be large to have the proper effect.

the Arabs conquered Egypt, the Nilometer was at the small town of Halouan, facing Memphis. Amrou destroyed that stately capital, and built the city of Fostat, where the governors of the Caliphs fixed their refidence. Some ages after, the Mekias, or Nilometer, was built at one extremity of the island of Raouda, and the column to meafure the waters was erected in the centre of a low chamber, the walls of which are exceedingly folid, and the bottom on a level with the bed of the Nile. The Mekias has never fince been changed, and officers are now appointed to examine the progress of the inundation, which is daily proclaimed in the streets of Cairo, by the public criers, to whom the people, interested in the event, give fome flight reward, and it becomes the news of the day. As Egypt pays no tribute to the Grand Seignor if the waters do not rife to fixteen cubits, the Egyptians often disguise the truth, and do not proclaim they have rifen to that height till they have furpassed it.

The day of this proclamation is a day of rejoicing, and a solemn feast among the Egyptians. The Pacha and his whole court descend

descend from the castle, and go in pomp to Fostat, where the canal begins that runs through Grand Cairo. He places himself under a magnificent pavillion, erected there. The Beys, with their muficians playing before them, and their Mamluks following, are his attendants. The chief priests ride horses richly caparisoned, and all the inhabitants, on horseback, on foot, and in boats, hasten to be present at this ceremony. More than three hundred thousand people affemble on land and water. The boats, most of them painted, and artfully carved, have canopies, and streamers of various colours. Those of the women are known by their elegance, richness, the gilt columns that support the canopy, and, particularly, by the blinds let down before the windows. The people all remain filent till the moment the Pacha gives the fignal, and then, instantly, shouts of joy rend the air; the trumpets found their flourishes, and the kettle drums and other instruments reverberate from all parts. Certain men throw down the statue of clay, which was placed on the mound, which statue is called THE BETROTHED. and is the remains of an ancient rite among H 3 the the Egyptians, who consecrated a virgin to the Nile, and whom, in times of dearth. they fometimes threw into the waters. The mound is presently destroyed, and the waters, no longer meeting an obstacle, flow toward Grand Cairo. The Pacha throws gold and filver coins into the stream, which good fwimmers immediately dive for, and bring up. This action may be regarded as a kind of homage paid to the Nile, the fource of the wealth of Egypt. The inhabitants appear intoxicated with joy; they congratulate and pay compliments to each other all day; and fongs of thankfgiving are every where heard, A number of female dancers affemble on the banks of the Khalig, and regale the spectators with their lascivious dances. All is mirth and good chear, and the very poor themselves feast. This universal rejoicing is not surprising: the fate of the country depends on the inundation, and, when it arrives, all behold the hopes of harvest, the picture of plenty, and anticipate the promised good.

The evenings present a spectacle still more agreeable. All the great squares of the city are sloated, and the families assemble in boats adorned

adorned with tapestry, rich cushions, and every convenience luxurious ease can wish. The streets, mosques, and minarets, are illuminated: they row from square to square, taking with them fruits and refreshments. The most numerous affembly is usually at Lesbekia, which is the largest square in the city, and near half a league in circumference; it forms an immense bason surrounded by the palaces of the Beys, which are embellished with various coloured lights. Many thousands of boats, to the masts of which lamps are fuspended, produce an evervarying illumination. The clear and starry heavens, which, there, are feldom obscured by mists, and the profusion of artificial lights on the waters, give all the brilliancy of day to the sweet refreshing coolness of night. Imagine, Sir, the pleasure with which the people, who have been fcorched twelve hours by a fun fo ardent, come and breath the cool air of these lakes: seldom are the charms of this nocturnal scene disturbed by impetuous winds; they fall at fun-fet, and gentler airs agitate the atmosphere. I own the caprice of Oriental manners is a tax on the European. Men affociate only with H 4 men. elidy

men, and women with women; the charm of whose society is here procured with difficulty. The disguise necessary, and the attendant dangers, warn the reason, and compel prudence. The lamps are obliged to be always kept lighted; this is a precaution necessary for the public safety, which the Oualli, who goes from place to place, takes care to see punctually observed. If this officer, who superintends the police, finds a boat without light, he is justified in beheading all the persons on board; and, unless a suitable present restrains the arm of the executioners who accompany him, he instantly, and rigourously, executes his right.

When the Ramazan happens during the inundation, this month, so dreadful to the poor, is a time of continual banquetting among the rich, who pass their nights feasting on the waters. During the day they sleep in a vast hall, where pure air circulates near a marble bason; where a sountain of limpid water plays, and the brinks of which are surrounded by the Arabian jasmine and odoriferous flowers. The salubrity of this apartment is maintained by a north window always open, near the summit of the dome: thus, while

while the husbandmen broil in the fields, bedewing the earth with the sweat of their brow, the rich pass their time in voluptuous slumbers, amidst cooling airs, and the balsamic exhalations of plants. The utmost ambition of a Turk, who is not in place, is to live agreeably, and wholly free from cares; but the Beys, on the contrary, preyed upon by fear, placed at the head of a republic impoverished by their devastations, dazzle for a moment, then disappear, cut off by the sword of their colleagues, or the poison of their slaves.

Egypt has for numerous ages, been inundated, which has prodigiously raised the foil; this fact is attested by obelisks, buried fifteen or twenty feet, and porticos that have half disappeared. Their ancient cities, built on artificial mounts, and the mounds they raised, shewed the Egyptians dreaded the high inundations. At present the land is so much higher that the waters feldom rife fo as to injure agriculture. When they are under fixteen cubits a famine is threatened, and the years of abundance are those of between eighteen and two-and-twenty cubits. When the waters exceed this, they lay too flom long

long on the ground, and prevent its being fown; which, however, feldom happens. On the contrary, inundations below the medium often leave the high lands fruitless. Were the canals opened, the mounds repaired, and the great reservoirs filled, they might water a much larger extent of country, and procure harvests infinitely more abundant.

It would be possible to ensure a regular inundation to Egypt, and a never-failing fertility; but this must be by conquering Ethiopia, or forming a treaty with its inhabitants, by which they might be permitted to confine the waters of the Nile, where they disperse themselves over the sands that lie to the west.

"In the year 1106, when Elmestansor was Sultan of Egypt, the inundation totally failed. The Sultan sent Michael, patriarch of the Jacobines, with magnificent presents, to the Emperor of Ethiopia, who came to meet, received him favourably, and demanded the subject of his embassy. Michael replied, that the waters of the Nile having failed, had made the Egyptians dread all the horrors of famine, and thrown them into the ut"most

" most consternation: he added remon-

" strances which induced the Emperor to

" fuffer a dam to be opened that had turned

" the river, which, taking its usual course,

" rose three cubits in one day. Michael, on

" his return, received great honors (m)."

This shews the possibility of turning the course of the Nile, and proves a mound, raised to stop up the great channel which communicates with the Niger, would cause a prodigious increase of water. Were a powerful and intelligent people in possession of Egypt, fuch wonderful changes would be eafily made, and it would become the wealthiest country in the world. The Egyptians have a certain fign of inundation, and the height to which it will rife. When the north wind, during the months I have before mentioned, repelled by impetuous winds from the fouth, is driven back, the affemblage of clouds is less than usual in Upper Abyffinia, and the increase is very small; mounds then would be of the greatest utility; but, on the contrary, when the north wind

<sup>(</sup>m) Elmacin, history of the Arabs. This happened under Aboulcasem, the twenty-seventh of the Abasside Caliphs, and the forty-eighth from Mahomet.

is predominant, and repels the tempestuous fouth towards the equator, it brings heavy clouds, and there is a certainty of a favourable inundation: in this case it would be necessary to open the dams of Ethiopia, and give the superabundant waters their usual vent. By means of this augmentation, also, there might be a canal between Cophtos and Cosfeir, which would be ranked among the most famous, and the most useful, works of Egypt. These, Sir, are ideas thrown into the expanse of possibility; they perhaps may hereafter be realized. Various powers look with watchful eyes on this fine kingdom, governed by barbarians incapable of defending it; the first nation, therefore, that attacks will conquer it, and then there can be little doubt but its face will be changed,

I have the honour to be, &c.

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## LETTER IX.

### OF THE GOVERNMENT OF EGYPT.

The government of Egypt, since its conquest by the Arabs, and the various revolutions it has undergone. Articles of the treaty granted by Sultan Selim, to the Circassian Mamluks. The limited power of the Pachas, and the preponderance of that of the Beys; particularly in the dignity of Sheik Elbalad and Emir Hadgi. The manner in which the Ottoman governors are received, and the different with which they are sent back. Observations on the decline of the Ottoman authority in Egypt.

### To M. L. M.

Grand Cairo.

arts flourella.

I Promifed to fend you particulars concerning the government of Egypt, so little known in France, and hope the observations of several years will enable me to sulfil this promise. It will first, however, be necessary to begin by an introductory account, which will throw light on what I have to offer.

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From the middle of the feventh century to 1250, the Arabs were in possession of Egypt, which then was a part of the vast empire of the Caliphs. Vizirs governed it in their name, and, possessed of unbounded power, exercised supreme authority. They had the right of life and death, and, rendering an account to the Caliphs, only, of their conduct, governed the country according to their caprice. However great their tyranny, the cries of the oppressed people never could reach the throne; the Vizirs took care to gain those who surrounded it by rich prefents. The government being thus despotic, national happiness, or misery, depended on the virtues, or vices, of one man. Many of these Vizirs swayed an iron sceptre; some few made commerce, agriculture, and the arts flourish. Others, among whom was the famous Ebn Toulon, rebelled, and proclaimed themselves kings; but the crown seldom descended to their children. After the death of the rebel, the province returned to the dominion of its former masters.

In the year 982, Moaz, sovereign of the western part of Africa, and descendant of the fatimite Caliphs, who had founded a king-dom

dom there two centuries before, fent his generals to conquer Egypt, which having performed, he made it the feat of Empire. His offspring reigned till 1189, when Salah Eddin established the dynasty of the Ayoubites there. This warlike prince, the terror of the crusaders, whom he had almost driven out of Palestine, was overthrown by Richard Cœur de Lion, near the walls of St. John d'Acre; and the name of the English monarch became terrible throughout the east. The government of Salah Eddin, and his fuccessors, was monarchical, under whom Egypt became flourishing. The remains of the academies they founded, and to which by their rich benefactions they drew the learned men of the east, are still to be seen at Grand Cairo. In the year 1250, immediately after the defeat of Louis IX. the Baharite Mamluks, (n) Turks by descent, massacred Touran Shah, the last prince of the Ayoubites, and the fon of Nejem Eddin, their benefactor; with whom ended the reign of the Arabian

Lili

<sup>(</sup>n) Mamluk fignifies acquired, possessed. They called themselves Baharites, or maratime, because Nejem eddin, who instituted them, bestowed the government of castles near the sea, and in the island of Raouda, on them.

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princes over Egypt, and fince which they have ever been governed by foreigners.

. The Baharite Mamluks changed its form of government, and made it republican. Their principal men elected a chief, to whom they confided great authority. He had a right to make war or peace, first advising with his council, the members of which they themselves were. He could appoint ministers, ambaffadors, governors, and generals; provided he chose them from among the Mamluks. The necessity he was under of gaining the votes of those chiefs limited his power; and his politics confifted in procuring their favour, making fure of the most powerful, and in immediately crushing the conspiracies that were formed against him; for each of the powerful Mamluks, of this Aristocracy, would necessarily endeavour to depose the possessor, and seat himself on the throne. Though the people had no part in the god vernment, yet had the Prince cause to fear their discontent; an ambitious rival, aided by them, might deprive him of his crown. Thus we see the chief of this republic was furrounded by dangers; the duration of his empire depended on his personal qualities, and

and he could not transmit his power to his children. Hence, during the hundred and thirty-fix years the Baharite Mamluks governed Egypt, they had twenty-seven kings; a proof their reigns were short and tempestuous.

About the middle of the fourteenth century, the Circaffian Mamluks dethroned the Baharites, but preserved their form of government, and continued in possession of Egypt till the conquest of it by Sultan Selim, in 1517. It is necessary to give clear and precife ideas of the Mamluks before we speak of the changes Selim made in the constitution. The appellation Mamluk is bestowed on children who, carried off by merchants, or banditti, from Georgia, Circassia, Natolia, and the various provinces of the Ottoman Empire, are afterwards fold in Constantinople and Grand Cairo. The Grandees of Egypt, who had a fimilar origin, bring them up in their houses, and destine them to succeed to their dignities; and this custom is, perhaps, more ancient than the time of Joseph, who, fold thus to Potiphar (o), High-priest- of

<sup>(</sup>a) This Egyptian name comes from Potiphrai, priest of the fun.

Heliopolis, became overfeer of Egypt. These foreigners, at present, can alone enjoy the title of Bey, and fill the offices of the state. The law is so precise that the son of a Bey cannot be raised to this eminent station; he, therefore, usually, embraces the profession of arms. The divan assigns him a proper sub-sistence, and names him  $Ebn\ El\ Balad$ , son of the country (p).

The Mamluks are most of them born of Christian parents, but are forced to embrace Mahometanism, and suffer circumcision. They are taught Turkish, and Arabic, and, when they have learned perfectly to read and write, the Koran, also, which is their code of religion and laws. The understanding of these clear, simple, and precise laws, enables them to de-

termine

<sup>(</sup>p) From what I have faid you will perceive, Sir, the words Mamluk and Abd are very different; the latter fignifying flave, and those who bear it are destined to the meanest offices, and never rise to important stations; while the former fill the most distinguished posts. Historians, therefore, have improperly given the title of slave to the Mamluks, and, in the history of the lower empire, called them Mammelus. Authors ought not to disfigure the names of persons and things, but should endeavour to give them their true signification. History would then be more persect, and give us more distinct ideas.

termine all cases, immediately, with equity; and the Mahometan, who is well studied in this book knows, perfectly, his duty to God and man: he is then qualified for any office, civil, military, or ecclesiastic.

The Mamluks are taught, from their earliest infancy, to ride, throw the javelin, use the sabre, and fire-arms, and are continually exercised in military evolutions, and in learning to support the heat of the climate, and the thirst of the deserts, with fortitude. Hence they acquire a strong constitution, and dauntless courage; and would become excellent soldiers, were they instructed in European tactics. Disciplined by our officers, they would not cede, in valour, to any nation upon earth; but they fight without order, and are absolutely ignorant of our art of gunnery, which is, now, so highly improved.

At fifteen, or eighteen, these youths are excellent horsemen, speak, and write, several languages, are intimately acquainted with the religion and laws of the country, and are capable of exercising the offices they are destined to fill. They rise, and usually by their merit, through the various trusts in the house of the Beys, till they arrive at the post

which are dependant on their patrons, at which time they are permitted to buy Mambuks, who follow their fortune, and become their companions and instruments. Their next rise is to the dignity of Bey, which gives them a seat among the four and twenty members of the Divan, or council, of the republic: but, though thus advanced, they cease not to regard themselves as the servants of their first master, and preserve a perfect submission to him. Such, Sir, is the origin of the Mamluks; and such the career they have to run. We will now proceed with our narrative.

sultan Selim, having conquered Egypt, and overthrown the Circaffian Mamluks, who could not withstand the numerous armies and bloody battles of the Turkish Emperor, caused their king, Thomam Bey, to be hanged at one of the gates of Cairo. This barbarous action disgusted them so much that they only waited the departure of the Turks again to take to their arms. The

intoxication

<sup>(</sup>q) The Cachefs are the lieutenants of the Beys, and command the towns which are in the government of their patrons.

intoxication of success once diffipated, Selim perceived his error; and, that he might profit by this important conquest, endeavoured to gain the good-will of the Mamluks; in order to which he made very little change in their form of government, and granted them very peculiar privileges, specified in a treaty, the principal articles of which are as follow.

Though, with Almighty aid, our invincible arms have conquered the kingdom of Egypt, yet we, from our benevolence, grant the four and twenty Sangiaks (r), of this country, a republican government, on the following conditions.

I. The republic of Egypt shall acknowledge our sovereignty, and that of our successors; and, as a mark of obedience, shall honor, as our representative, the governor whom we shall please to send, and who shall reside in the castle of Grand Cairo. During his administration, he shall undertake nothing contrary to our will, or the interests of the republic; but shall advise with the Beys concerning the good of the state; and, should he become disagreeable to them, or

<sup>(</sup>r) Sangiaks has the fame meaning as Beys.

attempt to infringe their privileges, we authorife them to suspend him, and lay their complaints before our sublime Porte, that they may be delivered from his oppression.

II. In time of war, the republic shall be obliged to furnish us and our successors with twelve thousand men, commanded by Sangiaks, and maintain them till the conclusion of peace.

III. Each year the republic shall raise five hundred and sixty thousand Aslani (s), and send them, under the escort of a Bey, to our sublime Porte, who shall receive, from our Desterdar, (Treasurer) a legal acquittance, to which our seal, and that of our Vizir, shall be affixed,

IV. The republic shall raise the like Khasna (sum) of five hundred and sixty thousand Aslani for the support of Medina, and the caaba, or temple of Mecca, which shall be annually sent, under the escort of

of the Bay who is at the head of the trouble, the toleral s

thousand Aslani; but the Beys pretend they are obliged to be at excessive expences, in repairing canals and fortresses, and do not send the half to Constantinople. Aslani is a silver coin, worth about half a crown.

the Sheik El Balad (t), or the Emir Hadge, which they shall deliver to the Scherif, the successor of our prophet, for the service of the house of God, and to be distributed among the persons who reside there, that their prayers may be obtained for us, and the faithful who believe in the Koran. (u).

V. The republic shall only maintain, in time of peace, fourteen thousand soldiers, or janissaries, but shall have permission to augment that army, during war, that its enemies, and ours, may be opposed.

VI. The republic shall also deduct, from the productions of the country, a million of couffes (x) of grain, six hundred thousand of wheat, and sour hundred thousand of barley, to be laid up in our granaries.

VII. These articles observed, the republic shall enjoy absolute power over the inhabitants of Egypt; but, in religious matters,

DAVI

<sup>(</sup>t) Sheik El Balad, the Elder of the country, is the title of the Bey who is at the head of the republic. Emir Hadge fignifies. Prince of the caravan, and is the fecond dignity in the republic.

<sup>(&</sup>quot;) This fum is not raised in money, but corn, and the productions of Egypt.

<sup>(</sup>x) An oval panier, made of date-tree leaves, containing about a hundred and feventy pounds weight.

The

shall advise with the Mollah, or High priest, who shall be subject to our authority, or that of our successors.

VIII. The republic shall enjoy, as heretofore, the right of coining, and stamping the name Mass (y); but shall add thereto our name, or that of our successors, and the governor we send shall inspect the coinage, that the legend may not be altered.

IX. The Beys shall elect among themselves a Sheik El Balad; who, when confirmed by our governor, shall be their head, and acknowledged by our officers as chief of the republic. If it shall so happen that our governors shall become guilty of oppression, and exceed the limits of his power, the Sheik El Balad shall have a right to lay the complaints of the public before our sublime Porte. Should foreign enemies disturb the peace of the republic, we promise, for us and our successors, to protect it, with all our powers, without having a right to exact any indemnity for the expence incurred in its aid.

<sup>(</sup>y) Majer is the name the Arabs give to Egypt in general, and Grand Cairo in particular, pretending that this country was peopled by Militain, grandfon of Noah.

Done and figned, by our clemency, in favour of the republic of Egypt, in the year 887, of the Hegira, (A. D. 1517.)

From this treaty you will learn, Sir, the last change of Egyptian government partook of Monarchy and Aristocracy. The first in the person of a Pacha, the second in those of the Beys, who, effentially, compose the republic. The Pacha, properly speaking, is a phantom, dispelled by their breath. The Sangiaks, at the head of provinces and armies, in reality, enjoy all the powers to their mercy are the people abandoned, in whose fayour the treaty contains not one word. May we not fay a merchant fold three or four millions of flaves, to four and twenty foreigners, for five hundred and fixty thousand aslani? Absolute power is configned over to them. They are permitted to levy arbitrary tributes, and exercise, without reftraint, every species of tyranny. Thus do despots barter nations! Thus do they submit to fuch shame, and think not of reclaiming the facred rights they have received from nature! Selim, in the vast extent of his dominions, faw but a vile herd of flaves, whom he might dispose of at his pleasure. Done The

The Beys perfectly feel the power they possess, which they dreadfully abuse. The Pacha remains no longer than while he is subservient to their designs; should he dare speak in defence of his master's interests, or those of the Egyptians, he becomes a state criminal; the Divan assembles, and he is expelled. The following is the manner in which they receive, and eject, those representatives of the Grand Seignior.

When a new Pacha lands, at Alexandria, he gives notice of his arrival to the council of the republic, and the Sheik El Balad fends the Beys of most address to compliment him, bring him presents, and profess great sub-While they attend on him they artfully found his inclinations, study his character, and endeavour to learn, from his own mouth, or that of his officers, what are the orders he brings. Should they find them inimical to their own purposes, they expedite a courier to the Sheik El Balad, who affembles the Divan, and the Pacha is forbidden to proceed farther. They then write to the Grand Signor that the new governor comes with hostile intentions, and such as will excite rebellion among his faithful subjects, and request Marin Co

request his recall, which is fure to be complied with. When the chiefs of the republic believe they have nothing to fear from the Pacha, they invite him to Grand Cairo; the deputies place him in a sumptuous galley, and efcort him all the way. The attendant boats are all elegantly tilted, and feveral filled with muficians. He advances, flowly, at the head of the fleet, no veffel being fuffered to pass that of the Pacha. Those who are, unfortunately, making a voyage up the Nile, are obliged to follow in his fuite. He stops at Hellai (2), and the Sheik El Balad either comes himself to receive him, or deputes feveral Sangiaks. The heads of the republic again congratulate him on his landing; the Aga of the Janissaries presents him the keys of the castle, prays him to make it his residence, and he is conducted, in pomp, through the city. I have feen, and can therefore describe, the entrance of a Pacha.

The various corps of infantry, with their noisy musick, march first, in two files, their colours waving; the cavalry follows. About five or fix thousand horsemen advance in good order, their cloathing made of very

<sup>(</sup>z) A small village, half a league below Boulac.

bright stuffs, while their floating robes, enormous mustachoes, and long lances, of thining steel, give them a majestic and warlike air. Then come the Beys, magnificently cloathed, and attended by their Mamluks, mounted on Arabian horses, high mettled, and adorned with houfings, embroidered in gold and filver; the bridles of those of the chiefs are bedecked with fine pearls and precious stones, and their saddles with glittering gold. The various retinues, for each Bey had his own, were exceedingly elegant; the beauty of the youth, the richness of their habits, and their excellent horsemanship, all together formed a very agreeable fight. The Pacha closed the march, advancing gravely, preceded by two hundred horsemen, a band of mufic, and four led horses, slowly guided by flaves on foot, covered with houfings, most richly embroidered in gold and pearl, that trailed on the ground. The Pacha, mounted on a beauteous barb, wore a cluster of large diamonds in his turban, which darted back the fun's rays. This procession gave me an idea of the oriental pomp and magnificence of the ancient monarchs of Asia, when they shewed themselves in public. It began about eight, and lasted till noon,

On the morrow, the Pacha affembled the Divan, and invited the Beys to be prefent: he fat on a raifed feat with a barred window, like the Grand Seignor. His Kiaya, or Lieutenant, read the orders of the Porte, and the Sangiaks, profoundly bowing, promifed obedience in all things which should not infringe their rights. This ended, a collation was served; and, when the affembly rose, the Pacha presented the Sheik El Balad with a rich surred robe, and a horse magnificently harnassed; also castans to the other Beys. Such, Sir, is the installation of a Pacha.

His office is a kind of banishment: he cannot leave his palace without the permission of the Sheik El Balad, but is a state prisoner, who, in the midst of splendor, cannot avoid feeling the weight of his chains. His revenue amounts to near a hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds sterling, and is raised from the duties paid at Suez, on the merchandize of the Red Sea. The ambition of the Beys presents him with a fruitful source of wealth, when, possessing political cunning, and a knowledge of his own means, he has the art to sow differtion among the

chiefs and form parties. Each will then endeavour to obtain his interest, and wealth pours in upon him. The Sangiaks named by the Divan also purchase a confirmation of their dignity of the Pacha, and the inheritance of those who die without issue increases his treasury. Thus may the Grand Seignor's representative maintain himself in office, and become immensely rich, provided he proceeds with the utmost circumspection; for, the ground on which he stands is so slippery, the least wrong step occasions his fall; and unforeseen circumstances will often counteract his utmost policy. Should some young audacious Sangiak, by his crimes or courage, vanquish the party favoured by the Pacha, and arrive at the dignity of Sheik El Balad, he affembles the council, and the governor is ignominiously expelled. His order to depart is entrusted to an officer, cloathed in black, who, carrying it in his bosom, advances into the audience-chamber, and taking up a corner of the carpet which covers the fofa, bows profoundly, and fays, Insel Pacha; Pacha come down; which having faid he departs. The Governor is immediately obliged to pack up and retire,

in the space of four-and-twenty hours, to Boulac; where he waits for orders from Constantinople. His person is generally fafe; but, should the prevailing Beys have complaints against him, they make him render a severe account of his administration, and the presents he has received; after which they divide the spoil. The council of the republic elects a Caimakan, during the interregnum, to fupply his place, till the arrival of the new Pacha. I have been feveral times a witness of events like this, during my abode in Egypt. I hope what I have faid will give you some knowledge of the government of the country. The history of Ali Bey, and some others of his successors, a sketch of which I shall fend you in the following letters, will shew you these objects in action, and supply you with the means of drawing your own conclusions.

I have the honour to be, &c.

in the space of sour-and-twenty hours, to

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# Confination: X S Terror Lie Expending the Laws have

# complaints against him they make him ren-

Birth of Ali Bey; is carried off: changes his religion, when fold to a Bey of Grand Cairo: promoted to various offices in the state. He conducts the caravan: defeats the Arabs: is made a Bey, and takes his feat in the Divan: his patron affassinated by the contrary faction: arrives at the dignity of Sheik El Balad, and revenges his patron's death: league formed against him: escapes to Jerusalem and St. John d'Acre, where he is welcomed by Sheik Daher: is recalled, but the hatred of his enemies again compels him to save himself by flight: visits Arabia: retires to St. John d'Acre, where Sheik Daher gives him every proof of friendship: returns to Cairo: facrifices bis rivals to revenge, and governs wifely. Treachery of some Beys and the grand Porte: executes the oficers fent to demand his head, and combines with the Russians to take vengeance on the injustice of the Ottomans. Repels the wandering

wandering Arabs: protects commerce, and conquers Arabia and Syria by his generals. Betrayed by his son-in-law, Mahamet Abou Dahab, and is obliged, a third time, to save himself in Syria. Seizes on several towns: enters Egypt with an army: overthrows forces much superior to his own, and is vanquished by the persidy of his infantry, which goes over to Abou Dahab. Deaths of Ali, Mahamet, and Sheik Daher; the latter basely asassinated, by order of the Porte.

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Grand Cairo.

ALI BEY, born in Natolia, in 1728, was christened Youseph (Joseph). His father, Daoud (a), a Greek priest, of one of the most distinguished families in the country, intended him as the successor of his dignities, and neglected nothing to perfect his education. Fate, however, otherwise ordained. Joseph, at thirteen, born away by the ardor of youth, hunted with some young men in a neighbouring forest, who, being attacked by banditti, were carried off in spite of their cries and resistance. He was brought to

(a) i. e. David.

Grand Cairo, sold to Ibrahim Kiaya (b), Lieutenant of the Janissaries, who had him circumcifed, put him on a Mamluk habit, and called him Ali, a name he has fince been known by. He appointed masters to teach him horsemanship, Turkish, and Arabic. Obliged to obey, Joseph, in his heart, lamented the loss of his parents, and the change of his religion. The kind treatment of his patron, the offices he was appointed to, which flattered his felf-love, and, especially, the example of his companions, infenfibly reconciled him to his new state. He was foon diftinguished by his understanding; and, in a few years, was perfect master of the languages he had been taught, excelled in bodily exercise, and none of the Mamluks managed a horse with more address, threw the javelin more forcibly, or handled the sabre and fire-arms with greater dexterity. His engaging manners, and application to study, endeared him to Ibrahim, who, delighted with his talents, raifed him rapidly through the various offices of his houshold,

<sup>(</sup>b) The Kiaya, and the Aga of the Janissaries, that is to say, their Lieutenant, and their Colonel, are Beys; and, usually, very powerful.

fo that he presently was made Selictar-Aga, (sword-bearer) and Khaznadar (treasurer); and the manner in which he executed these offices placed him still higher in the favor of his patron, who created him Cachef at two-and-twenty.

Become a governor of cities, he foon demonstrated his natural love of justice, and his discernment in his choice of Mamluks. whom he endeavoured to inspire with his From this time he filently own genius. laid the foundation of his future grandeur; not only had he gained the affection of Ibrahim, but infinuated himself into the favour of the Pacha, judging this might be fubfervient to his ambitious designs. Rahiph, the Pacha, was a man of merit; and, distinguishing an upright and elevated mind in the young Cachef, granted him his friendship, and became his declared protector: had not an unforeseen catastrophe deranged his projects, he would foon have promoted him to the dignity of Bey. Rahiph; endowed with. that happy kind of character which irrefiftibly charms, had gained the confidence of the Beys. Far from imitating his predeceffors, who founded their authority on dif-K 2 fention,

fension, he used every effort to maintain peace and union; and, for the first time, the representative of the Grand Seignor and the heads of the government united for the public good. The people, enjoying peace, wished its duration. The Beys themselves loved the Pacha, and dreaded his recal. Nothing more was wanting to arm envy, that monster of the human heart, which, unhappily for men, sheds her venom over all parts of the earth. The council of the Divan, at Constantinople, represented the good intelligence maintained between the Pacha and the chiefs of the republic as a conspiracy, formed to deprive the Grand Seignor Their calumnies were speciously of Egypt. coloured, and specious reasons are often con-Without farther exvincing, in a court. amination, the Sultan, determining to try the fidelity of Rahiph, fent a firman, commanding him to put all the Beys to death he could get into his power. An order so iniquitous well might shock the Pacha, but he must either obey or lose his head. He hesitated three days, and at last chose the Sending for the most faithful of his flaves, he shewed them the firman, and commanded commanded them each to kill a Bey, when they should be assembled in the hall of audience; and, the Divan being called, having concealed swords under their robes, they assembled those unfortunate victims of calumny. Four were left dead; the others, having been only wounded, valiantly defended themselves, and escaped. The marble of the hall where they were murdered is red with their blood to this day. I have often, shuddering, beheld the marks of this barbarous execution, commanded on suspicion only, by a despotic government.

The aftonishment of the Sangiaks who had fled was extreme; nor could they account for an action so atrocious from the past conduct of Rahiph. The assembled council resolved to punish and expiate the outrage he had done the republic by his death; but, when they came to seize the culprit, he produced the firman of the Porte, and they remained satisfied by his immediate expulsion. The Pachalic of Natolia, of Damascus, and, at last, the high post of Grand Visir, were the rewards of his crime.

This melancholy event retarded the rife of Ali Bey, who remained a Cachef feveral years. His patron, having been elected Emir Hadge, or prince of the caravan, the fecond dignity in Egypt, took him with him to escort the pilgrims. They were attacked on their march by the Arabs, and Ali, at the head of the Mamluks, fell upon them with fo much valour that they fled, leaving a great number dead on the field. At their return, several Arab tribes assembled to revenge their former defeat. The young Cachef gave them battle, furiously penetrated the thickest of their squadrons, and, overthrowing all who opposed him, obtained a fignal victory. The Arabs appeared no more; and Ibrahim, in full council, spoke of the fervices of his lieutenant, and proposed to create him a Bey. This met with oppofition, from Ibrahim the Circaffian, the enemy of the former, who employed all his eloquence to prevent a nomination which gave him umbrage. The Emir prevailed; the Divan elected Ali, and Eddin Mohamed. the Pacha, confirmed their choice, cloathed him in a caftan, and, according to custom, gave him the firman of Bey.

Become one of the twenty-four members of the republic, he never forgot his gratitude admirable constancy, who, however, was affassinated, in 1758, by the faction of Ibrahim the Circassian. From that moment Alimeditated vengeance; but for three years carefully concealed his resentment of the murder, and employed every means to obtain the post of Shiek El Balad, the first office in the republic. This dangerous wish and his utmost ambition were gratified in 1763.

He foon after revenged the death of his patron, by killing Ibrahim the Circaffian, with his own hand. Hatred, rather than prudence, impelled him to commit this defperate action, which raifed him up many enemies. All the Sangiaks attached to the Circaffian conspired against him, and he was on the point of falling into their snares, and being maffacred in his turn: he faved himfelf by flight. Hastily traversing the deserts of the isthmus of Suez, he came to Jerusalem, where, having gained the friendship of the governor, he thought himself in safety; but friendship itself is no longer held sacred among the Turks when the despot commands. Fearing him, even in his exile, his enemies wrote to the Porte to demand his life, and an

order was dispatched to the governor for his head. Happily for him, Rahiph, his old friend, one of the members of the Divan. informed him in time, and advised sudden flight. Ali forefaw the arrival of the Capigi Bachi (c), and took refuge with the Sheik Daher, Prince of St. John d'Acre. This respectable fire, who had defended his small principality fifty years against the whole Ottoman force, received the unfortunate Sheik El Balad with open arms, and granted him that hospitality which is the precious pledge of fafety among men, and the fanctity of which the Arabs never violate. He foon perceived the capacity of his guest, most kindly careffed and called him his fon; exhorted him to support adversity with fortitude; encouraged his hopes, calmed his griefs, and made him happy even in difgrace. Ali Bey might have lived peaceably with Sheik Daher; but, preyed upon by ambition, he could not remain thus at eafe. He maintained a fecret correspondence with fome Sangiaks, in his interest, and, to heighten their zeal, promised them the best go-

vernments.

<sup>(</sup>c) Messengers of the Grand Seignor; who, authorised by a firman, go to behead disgraced grandees.

vernments. Sheik Daher also wrote to his friends at Grand Cairo, pressing them to hasten the recal of Ali Bey; and Rahiph, become Vizir, openly espoused his cause, and employed the credit he possessed to effect his re-establishment. These various means succeeded to the wish of Ali Bey. The Sangiaks invited him to return to Grand Cairo, resume his dignity, and, immediately departing, he was received amid the acclamations of the people.

Thus re-established, he was perfectly senfible of his precarious fituation; knew he could not depend on tranquillity, and that hatred flumbered, but was not extinct. The thunder rumbled over his head, and those . who had become disaffected after the murder of Ibrahim the Circassian, were incessantly spreading snares for him, which required all his penetration to avoid. A favourable occasion, only, was wanting for them to manifest their resentment, which the death of Rahiph, in 1765, supplied. The mask then dropped off, and they declared open war. In danger of finking before his enemies, he fled into Arabia Felix, vifited the coasts of the Red Sea, examined the state of the coun-

dist

try, and again took refuge with Sheik Daher, who received him with all his former affection. The Sheik, taught wisdom bythe experience of eighty years, and a variety of fortunes, was very capable of giving confolation to the wertched. His discourse relieved the cares of his gueft, encouraged him to hope for happiness, and to forget present Mean time, the Sangiaks, of the faction of Ibrahim the Circaffian, supposing their enemy utterly incapable of molefting them farther, abandoned themselves to every fpecies of oppression, and persecution, towards the friends of Ali Bey; which imprudence did but increase their number, and, perceiving they had been the tools of certain ambitious Sangiaks, they resolved to strengthen themselves, by recalling their friend, the former Sheik El Balad, whom they engaged to support with all their power.

Ali Bey departed, having first received the affectionate embraces of Sheik Daher, who ardently prayed for his prosperity, and, in 1766, returned to Grand Cairo; where, consulting with his partizans, he represented to them that his former moderation had but excited the vengeance of the friends of Ibra-

him,

him, from whose conspiracies flight only had faved him, and that their common fecurity required the facrifice of the most tur-The resolution was unanimously applauded, and, on the morrow, four of the profcribed were beheaded, This execution restored tranquillity to Ali; who, secure in his government, in fix years, made fixteen of his Mamluks Beys, and one of them Aga of the Janissaries. The principal of these were Mahamed Abou Dahab, Ismael, Mourad, Hassan, Tentaoui, and Ibrahim. first was his countryman, whom he had bought in 1758, and for whom he had a particular affection. Become chief of the republic, he took measures to render his power lasting. Not satisfied with encreasing his Mamluks to the number of fix thoufand, he also maintained ten thousand Mograbi (d). His discipline was severe, and, by continually exercifing his troops, he formed excellent foldiers: he attached the youth of his houshold to himself by the parental care he took of their education, and, particular-

<sup>(</sup>d) Mograbi fignifies western, which general name the Egyptians give to the people of the coast of Barbary.

ly, by kind behaviour, and conferring favors on the most worthy; so that his party became so powerful that those of his colleagues, who were not his friends, feared him, and durst not oppose his designs. Imagining his authority well established, he directed his cares to the publick good. The Arabs, dispersed over the deserts, and on the frontiers of Egypt, committed ravages which an unfettled government could not repress. Against these Ali sent bodies of cavalry, that every where vanquished and drove them back to their former folitudes. Egypt now began to prosper, and encouraged agriculture flourished. The chiefs of each village were made responsible for the crimes of the whole, and punished till such time as the delinquent was rendered up to justice; by which means the principal inhabitants watched over the public fecurity; and, for the first time since the Turks had governed, the merchant and the traveller might proceed over the whole country, without fear of infult. Knowing how prone mercenary foldiers are to excess, both in the capital and the provinces, he ordered the injured to direct their complaints immediately to himfelf,

felf, and never failed to render them justice. Among the numerous instances which are related of his impartial equity, I shall mention only one. A Bey, meeting a Venetian merchant, near Old Cairo, made him alight, and forcibly took his shawl; Ali, being informed of this, summoned the culprit, severely reprimanded him in presence of the Venetian, obliged him to ask public pardon, and was near striking off his head. The same integrity observed in every part of his administration restored the golden age to the happy Egyptians, who do not cease, to this day, to bless his memory, and sing his praises.

Ali Bey had bought a female flave from Red Russia, who was very beautiful: her flaxen hair reached to the ground, her figure was tall and noble, her complexion of the purest white, her eyes blue, and her eyebrows black: but these were the least of the treasures nature had bestowed on the youthful Maria; her mind was superior to her form. Her unhappy fate never could make her condescend to gratify the desires of her master; he spoke of his power; she shewed she was free, though in chains; he wished to dazzle

by his splendor; but she was insensible to pomp and grandeur. Charmed with a haughtiness so consenial to his nature, he became a lover, and offered her his hand, if the would renounce Christianity; but, though not without affection for a man who had treated her according to her deferts, she still had the fortitude to refuse. At last, he permitted her to retain her religion, provided the would not profess it publicly, and obtained her confent; and, so great was his love for her that, while he lived, he never had any Though at the fummit of other wife. grandeur, Ali forgot not his parents. Having made his peace with the Porte, he confided the efcort of the Khasna, which is annually fent to Constantinople, to Tentaoui, and charged him to go into Natolia, and bring back his father and family. Hearing of their arrival at Boulac, he went to meet them, with a numerous train; and, as foon as he perceived the aged Daoud, he descended from his horse, ran, and fell on his knees, and kissed his feet. The father wept with joy; it was the happiest day of his life, and Ali embraced his fifter and nephew. This tender fcene

scene over, he conducted them to his palace, in the square of Lesbekia (e), and the Mamluks contended who should wash the feet of their master's father. When they had cloathed him in magnificent robes, he was led into the harem, and received the most affectionate caresses from the wife of Ali. Daoud, mounted on a fine horse, was conducted to the hall of the Divan; the Beys, and even the Pacha, complimented and made him presents. After remaining seven months in Egypt, he wished to return to his native country, whither Ali fent him, on board a veffel, loaded with riches, but detained his fifter and nephew. You perceive, Sir, incidents which have a great refemblance to the history of Joseph are often renewed in Egypt (f).

The Sheik El Balad, desirous of giving a still farther proof of his friendship for Mahamed Abou Dahab, and attaching him by

<sup>(</sup>e) The largest square in Cairo, where most of the Beys have palaces.

<sup>(</sup>f) And Joseph made ready his chariot, and went up to meet his father in Goshen; and presented himself unto him: and he sell on his neck, and wept on his neck a good while. Genesis XLVI. 29.

indiffoluble ties, gave him his fifter in marriage, and the nuptials were celebrated, during three days, by illuminations, horse races, and banquetting. He was but heaping benefits on a traitor, who filently conspired the ruin of his benefactor. Secretly uniting himfelf to the remains of the house of Ibrahim. he aspired to sovereign power; corrupted by ambition, and the love of gold (g), thought no means unjust by which he might attain the dignity of Sheik El Balad. The Beys of his faction, knowing his avarice, gave him confiderable fums to rid them of Ali; but he, conscious of his brother's vigilance, the love of his adherents, and the difficulties of the enterprize, fearing for his life if he were discovered, kept the gold, and waited a more favorable opportunity; but, in order to ingratiate himfelf, and blind his friend still farther, he discovered the con-The confequences exceeded his spiracy. hopes, and the affection of Ali, for the man to whom he thought he owed his life, became excessive. Abou Dahab, however, never lost fight of his detestable intents, but endeavoured

<sup>(</sup>g) He had been named Abou Dahab, father of Gold, on account of his avarice.

to seduce Tentaoui, and offered him twelve thousand guineas to affassinate his patron, when they should play at chefs. Tentaoui immediately informed Ali of the proposal, at which, so much was he prejudiced in favor of Mahamed, he did but laugh. Failing in this project, he tried another, and wished to force his wife to poison a brother she loved in a dish of coffee. She rejected the proposal with horror, and sent a faithful flave to conjure Ali to keep on his guard, and to fear Abou Dahab as his most dangerous enemy. So many warnings ought to have rendered him fuspicious, but his affection was extreme; nor could he credit crimes which his heart disclaimed: beside that the benefits he had conferred rendered him confident.

In 1768, the Russians declared war against the Turks, and sent their sleets into the Mediterranean. The Sheik El Balad, according to custom, raised twelve thousand men to aid the Porte, which circumstance his enemies endeavoured to turn to his destruction. They wrote to the Divan that the troops he had assembled were to serve in the Russian armies, with whom he had entered into an alliance, and the letter was signed by several

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of the Beys. The calumny was credited, without examination, and a Capigi-bachi immediately fent, with four attendants, for the head of Ali. Happily for him, he had a faithful agent in the council, who immediately fent off two couriers, the one by land, the other by sea, to advertise him of the treachery. They outstripped the messengers of the Grand Seignor, and Ali fent for Tentaoui, in whom he had great confidence, informed him of the fecret, ordered him to affume the difguise of an Arab, and, with twelve Mamluks, wait the arrival of the messengers from Constantinople twenty miles from Cairo, feize their dispatches, and put them to death. Tentaoui performed his mission: having waited, some time, at the appointed place, he faw the Capigi-bachi and his attendants approach, feized them and their fatal order, murdered them, and buried their bodies in the fand.

Having the firman in his possession, the Sheik El Balad assembled the Beys; and, after reading it to them, said "How long shall "we be the victims of Ottoman despotism; or what saith can we put in the treaties of the Porte? Not many years since several "of

" of the Beys were affaffinated, contrary to all justice: some of you were present, and bear about with you the marks of that massacre. The marble, we tread on, is red with the blood of sour of your colleagues. To-day I am to die, and to-morrow the man who shall supply my place. The hour is come for us to shake off this tyrant's yoke; who, violating our privileges and laws, dispenses with our lives at his pleasure. Let us unite ourselves with Russia, and free the republic from the dominion of a barbarous master. Grant me your aid, and I will be respon-

"Grant me your aid, and I will be responfible for the liberty of Egypt."

This speech produced every effect Ali could expect: fixteen Beys, who were of his party, unanimously declared for making war on the Grand Seignor; and the remainder, unable to oppose, promised every affistance in their power. The Pacha was immediately ordered to quit Egypt in sour and twenty hours, and Ali sent to Sheik Daher to inform him of what had passed; promising to unite his troops to those of the Sheik, for the conquest of Syria.

As foon as the Porte heard of the rebellion of the Beys, and the storm that threatened Syria, the Pacha of Damascus was ordered to attack Sheik Daher, before the latter had been joined by the forces of Egypt; who accordingly marched, with twenty thousand men haftily affembled, to furprize St. John The Sheik had all his life been d'Acre. accustomed to war with the Turks, and was not alarmed at their approach: he mounted his horse, called his seven sons, who all commanded fortified castles, and immediately marched at the head of nine thousand ca-While one of his fons harraffed the valry. enemy with a body of light horse, Sheik Daher took post near the lake of Tiberias. Informed of all their motions, when he knew the Turks would foon arrive, he feparated his troops into three divisions; the two first were ordered to hide themselves among the mountains, till the fignal should be given; he himself retired to some distance, deserting his camp on the plain, full of provisions. When night approached, the Pacha, imagining he should surprize the Arabs, advanced, filently, concealed by darkness, and the few troops,

troops, left in the camp, hastily fled, after a light skirmish, on his arrival. Their flight was attributed to their fears, and the foldiers, heated by a forced march, regarded the abandoned provisions as lawful conquest, and eagerly drank the wine. At break of day, the fignal was given, and the three bodies of cavalry fuddenly attacked the camp, fword in hand, where, finding none but drunken men, their only trouble was to flaughter them. Eight thousand were slain, a great number made prisoners, and the flying Pacha, who took refuge in Damascus, lost his tents, arms, and baggage. A courier was dispatched to Grand Cairo, with the news of his overthrow, by Sheik Daher, who returned into his principality,

His ally thus in fafety, Ali turned his arms elsewhere. Traversing Yemen, and the eastern coast of the Red Sea, he had perceived how many advantages might be gained by commerce, and the productions of those countries, could he subdue them; he therefore raised two armies, both of cavalry, the first containing twenty-six, and the other nine thousand men. The command of the great army was given to his brother-in-law,

and of the second to Ismael Bey, who was to attack the maritime towns, and fea ports, while Abou Dahab entered Arabia Felix. and the interior provinces. The plan they were to follow was delivered to the generals, and he equipped a fleet, to coast along the Red Sea, and bring them provisions. Like an able warrior, he had calculated what the obstacles were they had to surmount, and success depended on the fidelity with which his orders should be executed. The troops left Grand Cairo in 1770; and, while they marched to conquer Arabia, the Sheik El Balad remained in the capital, where he employed himself in the interior government of the kingdom, and the people's happiness.

The custom duties, in Egypt, had long been in the hands of Jews, who committed flagrant depredations, and imposed on foreign merchants with impunity. Ali, therefore, intrusted them to the administration of the Christians of Syria, expressly recommending them to favour the Europeans: well convinced how flourishing Egypt might become by commerce, his project was to lay the trade open to the whole world, and render this country the emporium of the merchants

of Europe, India, and Africa. To effect this, it was necessary to defend caravans by his forces, and merchants by the laws; which he did by repelling the wandering Arabs on all fides, and establishing Selim Aga, and Soliman Kiaya, of the Janissaries, at Grand Cairo, to protect the merchants, and see they had justice done them. In like manner, he commanded his generals to leave officers in the fea ports they took; who should welcome the ships of India, and guard them against the cupidity of the inhabitants. He foon enjoyed the wisdom of his administration, foon had the happiness to see the Egyptians relieved, foreigners well treated, public fafety established, agriculture encouraged, and the republic raifed to a point of splendor which it had never known.

While occupied by these cares, his generals triumphed in Arabia. Abou Dahab, in one campaign, conquered Yemen, and dethroned the Schereif of Mecca, instituting Emir Abdallah in his place; who, to ingratiate himself with Ali, gave him the pompous title of Sultan of Egypt and the two seas. Is small, on his part, took all the towns on the eastern coast of the Arabian gulph. They returned

to Cairo, loaded with laurels; where they were received with the loudest acclamations. and their victories celebrated by great rejoicings. A remember as property and pay you bill and

- Ali forgot not the expedition into Syria, but fent Abou Dahab thither, in 1771, with forty thousand men, to attempt its conquest. While the army traversed the desert, vessels from Damietta conveyed fuch provisions as were needful for its support to St. John d'Acre. Profiting, like a skilful politician, by present circumstances, he wrote to Count Orlow, then at Leghorn, to form a treaty of alliance with the Empress of Russia, offering the admiral money, provisions, and foldiers: he afked gunners and engineers in return, promifing to join his forces with those of Russia, to the overthrow of the Ottoman Empire. The Count thanked Ali, encouraged him in the glorious enterprize, made him great promises, which he never performed, and affured him he would fend his dispatches to his sovereign,

The year before, he had deputed a Venetian merchant, named Rosetti, to offer the republic of Venice his alliance, and encourage her to retake the islands, and fine provinces,

the had formerly possessed, in the Mediterranean, from the Turks; promising to aid her with all the forces of Egypt, and reestablish her ancient commerce; which daring attempt the republic thought proper to decline.

During these negociations, Abou Dahab, aided by the council and arms of the prince of Acre, took the cities of Syria from the Ottomans, and drove them before him like fheep. On the ninth of march he came to the walls of Gaza, strongly garrisoned; which, three days after, he carried by affault. Rama cost him more time and trouble; the befieged defended themselves so intrepidly that he could not take it by florm; it capitulated after a month's blockade, and the governor fled, fearing the fate that awaited him. The Turks durst not be seen in the field, but sheltered themselves behind their walls; and the victor, after these two conquests, laid fiege to Naplouse, formerly Neapolis. The obstinacy of the besieged, and the ignorance of the Egyptians in the art of gunnery, made this a work of time. They long attacked the walls, without great fuccess, and Abou Dahab, despairing of storming

it, contracted his lines, and took it by famine. His arms were next turned against Jerusalem, which the Mahometans, as well as Christians, call the Holy City, and hold in great veneration; pretending that Mahomet was miraculously transported thither, where he prayed with the company of the prophets (b). The governor and high priest, furmmoned to furrender, fent a deputation. with presents, conjuring him to turn the tempest from the walls of Jerusalem, respect the place in which the prophet had prayed, and affured him, that, if he reduced Damascus, they would follow the example of the capital, and open their gates. The Egyptian general acquiesced in their prayer, and led his troops to Jassa, the antient Joppa. This town is built on a rock that projects into the sea, and its advantageous situation, and fortifications, made the fiege long, and bloody. Abou Dahab two months battered the walls with his whole artillery; but, as this was neither considerable, nor under the direction

<sup>(</sup>b) Praise be to God, who, in the night, carried his servant from the temple of Mecca to the temple of Jerusalem; the walls of which we have bleffed, that marks of our power might there remain. Koran, chap. 17.

of good engineers, he made no great breaches. The Egyptians repeatedly returned to the affault, and the brave Mamluks mounted the ramparts, but were repelled with loss. However, the besieged having perished in part, the remainder, fearing to be put to the sword, if the place were taken by storm, capitulated. Leaving a garrison here, the general returned to St. John d'Acre, in the beginning of September, where the Arab prince received him joyfully, congratulated and supplied him with provisions and ammunition.

Mahamed, having given his troops a fortnight's rest, attacked Seide, the ancient Sidon, near which the city of Tyre, famous for its commerce, arts, and shipping, formerly flourished. The island where it stood is now part of the main land, and presents nothing but ruins. Seide yielded at the first fummons, and Abou Dahab, now master of the most important places in Syria, led his army before its capital. Damascus, situated in a rich plain, is furrounded by rivulets, and gardens full of orange, pistachio, pomegranate, and a multitude of other trees, the fruits of which are delicious. Excellent paste is made from them, which is used in the

the composition of sherbet, and fold all over the east. Nothing can be more pleasant, more charming, more beautiful, than the environs of this city. Bowers and brooks are every where feen; and delightful pavillions, where Turkish indolence slumbers, on cushions of velvet and sattin. The Arabs call it Esshams, the city of the sun. The waters are admirable for tempering steel; and the poniards, sabres, and arms they fabricate, are every where famous. The Pacha had shut himself up with a numerous garrison, and courageously defended the place for two months; but, at the end of November, feeing his walls beat down, his advanced forts destroyed, and the enemy ready to storm, he fled, during the night, and the city yielded. The garrison had retired into the citadel; which, after a fecond fiege, and many efforts, the Egyptians at last took.

Aleppo was the only confiderable place the Turks possessed, and the taking this city would have given the republic of Egypt possession of Syria; but Abou Dahab seared this conquest would but retard his designs. The ruin of Ali, his patron, brother, and friend, he long had meditated; and the desire of gaining

gaining the foldiers, and making them the companions of his fuccess, had armed and guided him in his victories. Neither the interest of Egypt nor its union with Syria, which would have rendered it independent of the Porte, were any part of his project. When he was fure of his officers and foldiers. and had made them take an oath of fidelity, he reared the standard of rebellion, withdrew the garrisons from the subjected towns, and, rendering thus a year of battles and effusion of blood fruitless, returned to Egypt. No fooner was he gone than the Turks eafily retook the towns they had loft, repaired the walls, and added new fortifications. Inflated as he was with fuccess. Abou Dahab durst not directly attempt the capital, where his rival was so powerful, but coasted the western borders of the Red Sea, croffed the defert, and entered Upper Egypt. His guilty purpose thus manifested, he seized on Girga, and the most important towns; gained, by force or address, the Beys who governed them, and descended toward Grand Cairo.

Ali Bey too late repented having followed rather the emotions of his heart than the counfels

counfels of prudence, by giving an enemy fo perfidious a command with which he ought never to have been entrusted. He still, however, had resources, which he immediately employed; and, affembling twenty thousand men, made Ismael Bey their general, on whose experience and fidelity he had reason to depend. Abou Dahab was encamped near Gifa, and Ali ordered his general to take post at Old Cairo, and prevent the enemy from croffing the river. Nothing was more easy; but the perfidious Ismael, basely betraying his patron's interest, allied himself with, and went over to, Abou Dahab. The junction of the two armies was a thunderstroke to the generous Ali, who, in the first moments of despair, resolved to shut himself up in the castle of Grand Cairo, with a few brave friends who remained, and bury himfelf under its ruins. The fons of Sheik Daher, who loved him, shewed the folly of fuch a refolution, and conjured him to fly, with them, to St. John d'Acre. He felt the wisdom of the advice, and profited by it. He wrote immediately to Count Orlow, praying him to fend ammunition and officers into Syria, and entrusted these dispatches to Jacob

Jacob the Armenian, who had already acquitted himself of a similar commission. Ali then collected his treasure, with which he loaded twenty camels, and fent to demand of Mallem Reisk, whom he had made receiver of the revenues, the money in his poffession; but the knave had hid himself, and to find him was impossible. Ali Bey, a third time, fled from Grand Cairo, in the middle of the night, across the deserts; accompanied by the fons of Sheik Daher, Tentaoui, Rossuan, Hassan, Kalil, Mourad, Abderrohman, Latif, Mustapha, Ibrahim, Zulficar, Hasheph, Osman, Selim Aga, and Soliman Kiaya, of the janissaries, all Beys of his creation, and about feven thoufand foldiers. He took with him three millions and a half of money, in gold and filver; and, after a forced march of five days, arrived, the 16th of April, 1772, before the gates of Gaza, where his troops began to take breath. The treason of two men, on whom he had fo many claims, preyed upon his heart: he shuddered at the very name of Abou Dahab, and his blood boiled in his veins. This agitation, and the fatigue of a march fo painful, occasioned him to fall dangeroully

dangerously ill; when, yielding to the most gloomy melancholy, he expected confolation in death. Egypt freed, Arabia subjected, justice established in the cities, commerce flourishing, the good be had done the people, and the good he still defired to do them, all vanished in a moment, and the recollection was the worst of his woes. While his heart was thus torn, by griefs fo piereing, the respectable fire, Sheik Daher, his faithful friend, his conftant protector in adverfity, came to visit him in his tent, mingled his tears with those of Ali, called him his fon, and endeavoured, by discourse equally wife and affectionate, to relieve his pangs. He told him he ought not yet to despair; the Russian squadron approached, and, with this assistance, he might remount the throne whence treafon had cast him down. Powerful is the voice of friendship over the affectionate heart. It is a falutary balm that glides and pervades the faculties, and cures, as by inchantment, the wounds of mind and body: Ali felt its divine effects, and hope once more relumined the torch of life. The Arab prince had his physician with him, whom

whom he left with the patient, and who, in some weeks, recovered his health.

A detachment from the Russian squadron having appeared before St. John d'Acre, Ali profited by the occasion to write to Count Orlow; repeating his former propofals, asking cannon, gunners, and a body of three thousand Albanians, affuring him that, when re-established at Grand Cairo, the whole force of Egypt should be at his command. He likewise addressed a letter to the Czarina, folliciting her alliance, and proposing a treaty of commerce with Egypt. Zulficar Bey bore these dispatches, and with them a prefent of three fine horses, richly accoutered, to the Ruffian Admiral. Certain it is, had Ruffia fent this fmall fuccour to the Sheik El Balad, he would have triumphed over his enemies, and been proclaimed King of Egypt; nor can it be doubted that gratitude would have induced him to have put the commerce of the east into the hands of the Ruffians, and would have ceded to them the ports on the Red Sea, and the Mediterranean. The face of these countries would have been changed. The Russian ships sailed for Paros Vol. II.

the 18th of May, 1772, taking the ambaffador of Ali on board. Trungs bentarin il A

The hasty retreat of Abou Dahab had given the Turks time to return, and fortify themselves in their towns: from which Ali again attempted to drive them. Having collected a body of fix thousand men, he gave the command to the brave Tentaoui, with an order to attack Seide. Sheik Lebi. and Sheik Crim, the one the fon, the other fon-in-law, of the prince of Acre, joined the Bey, and they marched together. Haffan Pacha, in an advantageous post, waited for them, at the head of thirteen thousand men; but, notwithstanding their inferiority, they did not hefitate to give him battle! Their cavalry was excellent; they fell impetuoufly upon the Turks, whom they broke, killed a great number, and put the rest to slight. The fugitives spread the alarm in Seide, which immediately opened its gates to the victors. Tentaoui, leaving a garrison in the town, under the command of Hassan Bey, returned to the camp, where he received the compliments of Ali, and the prince of orange and citron extend their chasena

silles, watered by abindant iprings, which

The 17th of August, in the same year, Ali marched against Jaffa, acompanied by the valiant fons of Sheik Daher, who had equipped two vessels to carry stores and provisions for the besiegers. The governor was fummoned to furrender, and, on his refufal, the town belieged. The walls were battered for forty days; but Ali's feeble artillery made very inconfiderable breaches: the fignal of affault was nevertheless given, and the foldiers advanced with intrepidity; but the difficulty of scaling the walls, and the valour of the befieged, forced them to retreat. Finding he could not carry it by storm, he resolved to take it by famine; and, during the blockade, fent Tentaoui, with a detachment of cavalry, to take Gaza by furprife. The brave chief flew to the place, took it at the first onset, left a garrison, and returned to the camp, crowned with laurel. The people of Jaffa received succour by sea, and refolutely defended themselves. The only thing they were in absolute want of was wooden The country round is delightful, and feattered over with gardens; where the orange and citron extend their charming shides, watered by abundant springs, which descend M 2

descend from the mountain, and make their verdure eternal. These trees are loaded with fruit, during one part of the year, and Ali had spared them; but, perceiving the besieged cut them down, and carried them off, under favor of the darkness, he had them felled immediately, and destroyed those plea-

fant plantations.

Mean time Ali's ambassador, Jacob, returned from his mission on board an English vessel, commanded by Capt. Brown. Count Orlow sent him two Russian officers, and dispatches assuring him of his friendship, and promising powerful assistance. These officers presented Ali, on the part of the Admiral, three pieces of cannon, that would carry four-pound balls, seven barrels of powder, and five hundred bullets; and here ended the magnificent promises of Count Orlow.

The fiege continued, and Clinglinoff, the Russian captain, raised a new battery of three pieces, carrying twelve-pound balls, with which he greatly annoyed the city. Having beat down a part of the wall, and wishing to see the effect of the artillery, he was killed by a musquet ball, as he was looking through

through an embrasure. This brave officer had, a little before, embarked with a single man, during night, to burn the Turkish vessels, which anchored in the harbour; being discovered, before he could execute his design, the fire from the ramparts obliged him precipitately to retire.

Captain Brown added fix more cannon to those which already played upon the city, and practicable breaches were made. Ali founded the charge, and his troops mounted to the affault; but ardent as they were, the numerous and valiant garrison, which continually received reinforcements by fea, obliged them to retreat. Several Russian ships approached Jaffa, at the request of Ali, and, bombarding it for two days, beat down a part of the houses: but, fearing a leeshore, if the west winds should blow with violence, they left this dangerous road. These multiplied attacks reduced the be-slieged to great extremities. Their city was laid in ruins; the terrified governor fled, in the night; and, escaping the vengeance of his enemies, got to Naplous, where his brother commanded. On the morrow, the 31st of January, Ali entered the city. This fan-M 3 guinary

guinary siege cost him three Beys and an infinite number of Mamluks. He gave the place up to Sheik Daher, who had supplied his army with provisions and stores.

While he lay before Jaffa, Mallem Reifk, the receiver-general of Egypt, came to his tent, difguised like a dervise : his sun-burnt face, meagre looks, and dirty and ragged dress, disguised him effectually. His istory was that, as foon as he learned the fuccess of Abou Dahab, fearing the avarice of the traitor, he hid his money, and fled to the deferts; where, for a whole year, he had lived a miserable life. Ali saw him unfortunate, pitied him, forgot his perfidy, and gave him cloaths and money. The camp was a witness, at the same time, of another example of the viciffitude of human affairs. Emir Abdallah, who, by order of Ali, had been raised to the principality of Mecca, the office of Scheriff, came to implore his aid. His rival was re-established, and he constrained to fly. Ali confoled and loaded him with presents, and he returned to Medina. Thus, the fall of the chief of Egypt entails misfortune on all who are attached to his and left it the 4th of April, 1773. siH .... The

The Sheik El Balad next led his troops to Rama, which was carried fword in hand; and this success raised the hopes of his partizans, and made them confident they should retenter Grand Cairo triumphant. Ali had constantly kept up a correspondence with the chiefs of the Janissaries, whose power in the capital is great; and his promifes, and the aversion the avarice of Abou Dahab inspired, determined them openly to espouse his cause, and demand his recal. They wrote him word he might return, and they would defend his interests. This news gave him great joy; he communicated it to his friends, and prepared for Egypt. Sheik Daher was of a contrary opinion, and advised him to wait the promifed aid of Russia, foment diffention among the Beys, make himfelf more certain of the temper of the troops, and neither lightly hazard his fortune nor his life. These prudent counsels were not followed: Ali, impatient to return to Grand Cairo, and humble his foes, thought himself marching to victory. Collecting the garrifons of the conquered towns, and railing contributions, he arrived at Gaza the 21st of March. and left it the 4th of April, 1773. variey. orlT

His whole cavalry confifted of two thoufand men, and two hundred and fifty Marnluks. Three thousand four hundred Mograbi
composed his infantry. Tentaoui, Kalil,
Latif, Hassan, Abderrohman, Mourad, Selim
Aga, and Soliman Kiaya, of the janisfaries,
were the only remaining Beys. Six hundred
and sixty horse, commanded by the son and
son-in-law of Sheik Daher, joined this small
army; the amount of which was six thousand three hundred men.

Abou Dahab had fent twelve thousand men to Salakia, a town on the isthmus of Suez, to impede Ali's march; which troops immediately advanced, at his approach, in order of battle. The Sheik El Balad staid not to hefitate, but fell like lightning upon them, fighting, fabre in hand, at the head of the Mamluks, who, encouraged by his prefence, carried death throughout the ranks. The enemy stood this terrible shock four hours; at last, being every where broken, they fled to the deferts, leaving a great number dead on the field. This glorious victory animated the small army of Ali, who, led by so brave a chief, thought themselves invincible. Profiting by their pardour, he marched 'LOY

marched directly for Grand Cairo, where the fugitives spread the news of their deseat, and his approach about Dahab affembled the Beys of his faction, and the heads of the people, to whom he thus spakes and the heads of the

Valiant chiefs of the Republic, and you Egyptians, who cherish the law of our prophet, you are acquainted with Ali. He is a Christian in his heart, has allied himself to infidels, and wishes to conquer that he may extirpate the religion of Mahomet, and force you to embrace Christianity. Recollect what the Europeans have done in India. The musulmen of those rich countries welcomed them kindly, received them in their ports. granted them counting houses, and formed treaties of trade with them. What was the confequence? Christians have ravaged their provinces, destroyed their cities, conquered their kingdoms, and, after reducing them to flavery, have established idolatry on the ruins of the true religion (i). A fimilar fate attends you, faithful muffulmen? Allied with Europeans, Ali will overthrow your govern2b ment, day Egypt open to infidels, and force

(i) The Mahometans call us idolaters, because, unable to comprehend our mysteries, they say we worship several Gods.

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son-in-law of Sheik Daher, joined this small
army; the amount of which was six thousand three hundred men.

Abou Dahab had fent twelve thousand men to Salakia, a town on the isthmus of Suez, to impede Ali's march; which troops immediately advanced, at his approach, in order of battle. The Sheik El Balad staid not to hefitate, but fell like lightning upon them, fighting, fabre in hand, at the head of the Mamluks, who, encouraged by his prefence, carried death throughout the ranks. The enemy flood this terrible shock four hours; at last, being every where broken, they fled to the deferts, leaving a great number dead on the field. This glorious victory animated the small army of Ali, who, led by so brave a chief, thought themselves invincible. Profiting by their undour, he marched 1007

marched directly for Grand Cairo, where the fugitives spread the news of their deseat, and his approach a Abou Dahab affembled the Beys of his faction, and the heads of the people, to whom he thus spakes and his approach.

Valiant chiefs of the Republic, and you Egyptians, who cherish the law of our prophet, you are acquainted with Ali. He is a Christian in his heart, has allied himself to infidels, and wishes to conquer that he may extirpate the religion of Mahomet, and force you to embrace Christianity. Recollect what the Europeans have done in India. The musfulmen of those rich countries welcomed them kindly, received them in their ports, granted them counting houses, and formed treaties of trade with them. What was the confequence? Christians have ravaged their provinces, destroyed their cities, conquered their kingdoms, and, after reducing them to flavery, have established idolatry on the ruins of the true religion (i). A fimilar fate attends you, faithful muffulmen? Allied with Europeans, Ali will overthrow your governe ment, day Egypt open to infidels, and forces

<sup>(</sup>i) The Mahometans call us idolaters, because, unable to comprehend our mysteries, they say we worship several Gods.

horav

you to become Christians. Assist me to repel the enemy of the republic, of the laws, of Islamism, or expect all the evils which your brethren of Bengal have endured; chuse between him and me."

so ending, Abou Dahab pretended to retire and abdicate the dignity of Sheik El Balad; but the audience universally denounced curses on the head of Ali, and promised to shed their last drop of blood in the common cause. Abou Dahab, profiting by the enthusiasm of the moment, proclaimed, throughout the city, that whoever loved his religion and country must take arms; and, before night, twenty thousand men enlisted under his banner; at the head of which army he immediately departed, to attack his enemy. The janissaries, faithful to their promise, resused to follow, and tranquilly waited the success of the battle.

who, informed that Abou Dahab was advancing with an army thrice as numerous as his own, abandoned himself to despair, and sell dangerously ill. He was advised to return to St. John d'Acre, but he declared he would die rather than retreat a steps because

The

The 13th of April, 1773, the army from Grand Cairo came in fight of his camp, and he arranged his troops in order of battle. Sheik Lebi and Sheik Crim commanded the left wing, Tentaoui the right, and his infantry occupied the centre. These prudent dispositions made, he exhorted his chiefs to fight valiantly, and ordered himfelf to be carried into his tent, for he was fo weak he could not fit on horseback. The battle began about eleven in the morning; both charged with fury, and, notwithstanding the inferiority of Ali's forces, they, at first, had the advantage. Sheik Lebi and Sheik Crim gloriously repulsed the Egyptian cavalry; and Tentaoui and his brave Mamluks overthrew all before them. Victory had declared for Ali when the Mograbi, mercenary troops, who always fight for the lust of gain, corrupted by the magnificent promifes of Abou Dahab, went over to his fide, and the face of fortune was changed. The flying rallied and, having only three thousand men to encounter, furrounded them on all fides, and made great flaughter. The generous Tena taduis could snot furvive the defeat. of He pierced the thickest squadrons, and fell, co-The vered

vered with wounds, on a heap of dead himfelf had immolated. Sheik Lebi, the valorous fon of the Prince of Acre, long defended himself, with his Arabs, and fell combating. Sheik Crim, cutting a passage through the Egyptians, galloped, full speed, to the tent of Ali, and conjured him to fly to St. John d'Acre. Mourad, Ibrahim, Soliman, and Abderroman, arrived also, and made the like remonstrances. Ali answered, fly my friends: I command you: as for me, my hour is come. Scarcely had they quitted him before he was furrounded by the victorious troops. The Mamluks, who guarded his tent, defended their master to their last drop of blood, and all perished with their arms in their hands. Despair gave strength to the unfortunate Sheik El Balad; he rose, and killed the two first soldiers who attempted to seize him: they then fired, and he was wounded with two balls. The Lieutenant of Abou Dahab entering, fabre in hand, Ali, firing his pistol, ended him. Bathed in his blood, he fought like a lion, but, a foldier behind bringing him down with his fabre, they fell upon him, and carried him to the tent of the victor. The traitor, perfidious to the lait, thed bluow feigned

feigned tears, at beholding him thus, and endeavoured to yield him consolation. Ali turned away his eyes, and spake not a word. He died, a week after, of his wounds; though some have informed me they were not mortal, but that he was poisoned by his infamous brother-in-law; if so, this was the completion of his atrocious acts; nor can we resect, without shuddering, on the horrors which ambition will impel men to commit.

Ali was above the middle fize: his eyes were large and full of fire, his manner was noble and winning, and his character frank and generous. Nature had endowed him with unconquerable fortitude, and an elevated genius. Far from that barbarous pride which leads the Turks to contemn foreigners, he loved them for their talents, and liberally rewarded their fervices. His defire to obtain officers, to discipline his troops, and teach them European tactics, was great; he fell, the victim of friendship, and his misfortunes were the consequence of having nurtured atraitor, who profited by his benefactions to embitter and rob him of life. Had Ruffia accepted his offers, and granted him engine neers, with three or four thousand men, he would

feigned

bavitto

would have subdued Syria and Egypt, and yielded the commerce of Arabia and India into the hands of his ally. He perished at the age of forty-five; the Egyptians wept his death, and saw themselves again the victims of miseries from which he had delivered them.

When Sheik Daher was informed of the death of Ali, and his fon, he abandoned himself to affliction. The unfortunate fire fell prostrate on the earth, covered himself with dust, and shed torrents of tears. It was foon necessary to defend his life and his country. Vain of his victory, Abou Dahab wished to revenge the protection the Arabian prince had given Ali, and marched for Syria with the whole force of Egypt, leaving Ismael governor in his absence. Jaffa was the first place attacked, and courageously defended by Sheik Crim, which lengthened the fiege. Unfortunately, a European, whom the promises of Abou Dahab had gained, funk a mine, by which a great part of the walls were thrown down; and the Egyptians; entering the breach, put the inhabitants to the fword. After this barbarity, they marched for St. John d'Acre, which Sheik Daher, who

who loved his people, and dreaded they might find a fate equally cruel, after adviling them to open their gates to the conqueror, abandoned; flying to the mountains, with his fons. Abou Dahab, finding no relistance, spared the effusion of blood; but, imagining the monks of Nazareth were entrufted with the treasures of the prince, he fent for, and commanded them to deliver them up, immediately. In vain did these poor people protest they had no knowledge of any treafure; he beheaded three of them, and, not fatisfied with this, put Mallem Ibrahim Saba, the receiver of Sheik Daher, to the torture, under which he expired, that he might force a discovery of these imaginary treasures. Some of the fons of the Arab prince underwent a fimilar fate, with no better fuccefs.

Here ended the crimes of Abou Dahab; he was one morning found dead in his bed. Some pretend he was poisoned, by one of his slaves; but this is uncertain. When the news was known, the Egyptian troops returned to Grand Cairo, and Ismael was elected Sheik El Balad. The prince of Acre immediately left the mountains, and again entered his principality, where he was received

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While these things were transacting, a Turkish squadron cast anchor on the coast of Syria, and the Capitan Pacha, having obtained the Sheik Daher's, permission to visit him, brought a firman from the Grand Seignor which, pardoning the past, confirmed the fovereignty of Acre on him and his defcendants. The joy of the aged prince was excessive. Now near the grave, he said he should die without regret, having the power which he had purchased by fixty years labours, and wars, made legitimate. The Turkish admiral was magnificently treated, and loaded with presents; and, after testifying his thanks, entreated the Sheik Daher, before he went, to come and dine on board the fleet. After the firman he had received. the Arab prince, unsuspicious of meditated treason, accepted his invitation, and, as he came on board, being first saluted by a difcharge of the artillery, was, the moment after, thewa another firman, which the admiral drew from his bolom, that condemned him to death, and he was beheadbo bestell and becought is to the Ottoman Admirel." . .

ed [k]. The respectable fire, thus basely betrayed, was eighty-fix years of age, and adored by the people, whom all his life he had defended against the tyranny of Pachas. Thus the Divan treats the Grandees of the Empire. But a government obliged to employ fuch means, to recal princes and governors to their duty, betrays its impotence; and, having no arms to defend its provinces, except perfidy, is on the brink of ruin. When corrupted by effeminacy, flattery, and a spirit of bigotry, the Greek Emperors destroyed all those at whom they took umbrage with fire and fword, it was not long before they were dethroned, and Constantinople became the habitation of a more generous people. The Ottomans use similar means, at present, and may expect a fimilar fate. I believe fuch

After the firmin he had received.

<sup>(</sup>k) Such was the manner in which Sheik Daher was affaffinated, according to what I heard in Egypt, two years after his death; but the following note, which was communicated to me by the commander of La Bourdonnaie Monluc, may perhaps recitive this mistake. "The "Captain-Pacha, lying before the walls of St. John d'Acre with the Turkish seet, cannonaded the town some days, "from which Sheik Daher seed among the mountains.

<sup>&</sup>quot;The commander of his cavalry betrayed him, cut off "his head, and brought it to the Ottoman Admiral."

reflexions to be just; because, attentively consulting the annals of history, we always behold kingdoms decline with the virtue and morals of their inhabitants.

I have the honor to be, &could not Balad. Mourad and Ibrahim, Beys in up. Egypt, connect themselves with the Arab and, Isnael sending troops against them, tire to the defert, fartify themfelves, the principal towns of the Said, proceed Gifa, and make a weaty dilionce withinsel. In danger of being maffacred Grand Cairo, they fly to Girga, call in the Anabs, and defeat the foldiers That I ford: to give them battle. He comes bim/If: they bribe his gray, and the Sheik El Balac escapes to Syria, with his treasure. Returned to Cairo, they appoint their oron creatures Beys, and lord it over Egypt, Eartle with, Hasan Bey, in the firests of Grand Cairo, and its consequences. Moural condusts the caravan of Micca, and beheads the Arabs who demand the usual wiente. Attacked and wainded, he obliges the enemy to retreat. His quarrels with Ibratim

LETTER

elections to be just; because, attentively confusting the annals of history, we always believed kinkoms Health with the virtue and

nords of their inhabitants.

YEAR TIA TO THE LIFE OF ALI BEY.

The History of Ismael Bey, become Sheik El Balad. Mourad and Ibrahim, Beys in upper Egypt, connect themselves with the Arabs; and, Ismael sending troops against them, retire to the defert, fortify themselves, seize the principal towns of the Said, proceed to Gifa, and make a treaty of alliance with Ismael. In danger of being massacred in Grand Cairo, they fly to Girga, call in the Arabs, and defeat the foldiers Ismael sends to give them battle. He comes himself: they bribe bis army, and the Sheik El Balad escapes to Syria, with bis treasure. Returned to Cairo, they appoint their own creatures Beys, and lord it over Egypt. Battle with Hasan Bey, in the fireets of Grand Cairo, and its consequences. Mourad conducts the caravan of Mecca, and beheads the Arabs who demand the usual tribute. Attacked and wounded, he obliges the enemy to retreat. His quarrels with Ibrahim.

# THE R S

ardently defirous of revenging the death of their patron. The first was courageous, frank, passionally and M. of Tiderate. The fecorid brand g more coolness and finesse, was

I HOPE, Sir, a parrative of the events which followed the death of Ali Bey, most of which I myfelf have feen, will afford you amusement. After the decease of this valiant chief, and that of Abou Dahab, Ilmael tranquilly reaped the fruit of his treason, was elected Sheik El Balad, and reigned tovereign of Egypt. Distributing provinces to his creatures, he beheld none but dependants; and, to fecure dominion, obtained the support of the Pacha, an adroit and enterprifing man. Having gained him, and the officers of the janislaries, he disparched his orders throughout Egypt, and his will was law. Educated by Ali, he knew the trade of war, possessed courage, and a great knowledge of business. But there qualities were tarnished by avarice. Gold was gathered from all parts, and, infread of exerting himself for the people's good and the state's glory, he thought but of increasing his treasures. While he supposed he had nothing to fear, Mourad and Ibrahim were ardently

ardently desirous of revenging the death of their patron. The first was courageous, frank, passionate, and inconsiderate. The second, having more coolness and finesse, was more able in forming of factions. vowing friendship, they left Syria, with a small number of Mamluks who followed their fortunes, croffed the deferts, and entered the Said, where, before they could obtain partizans, Ismael sent an army against them. Mourad, with a handful of foldiers, wished to give battle; but the more prudent Ibrahim prevented him, and they retired to solitudes whither the enemy durst not follow. Here they attached an independent Arab prince to their interests, by promising to enlarge his estates if, through his assistance, they should re-enter the capital. The Emir, happy to grant protection to exiled Beys against Ismael, who wanted to levy contri-butions on his territories, swore to aid them with all his power, and, immediately, ordered his Arabs to take arms: fix thousand horse joined his standard, with which small army they coasted the river side, seizing the principal towns on its banks, and approached banks of belocquit of all wanguilling various of the midsidi banks of the control aidently

detachments Ifmael had fent, they came, in 1777, and encamped near Gifa: WThe Sheile: El Balad left the caltle, at the head of a numerous army, to prevent their paffing the Nile. While the armies were in fight of each other, the generals reciprocally fent deputies, and spoke of accommodation . 114 mael, fearing the impetuous valour of Mourad, and the prudence of Ibrahim, would not rifque his fortune on the fate of a battle, and offered them their rank as members of the republic. Peace, accordingly, was fignt ed, and they entered the capital, preceded by the Arab prince, who, on a stately horse, marched at the head of his cavalry, armed with fabres and lances. After three days flay at Grand Cairo, and feeing the purpose of his coming effected, he returned to his principality, loaded with presents and promifes. This reconciliation was not fincere, Ifmael had invited his enemies that he might deftroy them without fighting, and, possessed of wealth and power, thought his defign might eafily be accomplished in Dangers furrounded the new Beys, and great address was necessary to escape the shares laid for them. In 1778, the Sheik El Balad, fear refuge ing,

ing, should be attack them in their palaces, where they were on their guard, the people would rife in defence of the remains of the house of Ali, in conjunction with the Pacha and his partizans, determined to maffacre them, the first day they should come to the Divan They were informed of this plot, and escaped, during night, sinto Upper Egypt, fortified themselves in Girga, called in the Arabs, and refolutely waited for the enemy. Ifmael fenter body of horse to pursue them, whom the fugitives defeated. He then came himfelfowith thirty thousand men, vand, confidenoting his firength, supposed victory certain; but the cuaning Ibrahim employed the fame trick which had been for ferviceable to Abou Dahab. Knowing Ismael's avarice, and that the pay of his troops was bad, he offered one much more confiderable, with a promise to promote the officers of Nothing more was necessary to seduce a part of those mercenaryb troops, tokhowalways well them felves to the best bidders of Ismael the fooner perceived himself abandoned than the hastily fled to Grand Cairo gloaded fifty camels with gold, filver, and his most precious effects, and, refeaping across the ifthmus, took refuge eni od N 4

refuge in Syria. Ever fince, the wretch; justly punished for having betrayed his friend and master, has dragged a miserable being through the various provinces of the Otto-man empire. I have been affured that, going to Constantinople, and depending on the promises of the Porte, whose authority he had re-established in Egypt, the Divan, having seized his treasures, gave him up to his miserable sate.

Ifmael being gone, Ibrahim and Mourad became masters of the kingdom, contered Grand Cairo in triumph, and were received joyfully by the people. One appointed him felf Sheik El Balad, and the other Emir Hadge. Their first business was to depose the Pachay who had imprudently been of the contrary faction, and declared them renemies of the Grand Seignion The lemiffary in black came to his apartment, turned up the carpet, and the Pachay immediately, retired to Boulac, where he waited for lorders from Constantinople The new bgovernor came, and they next proceeded not create their Mamluks Beys'; at the homination of whom, I, by means of my Turkish dress, was present of The Sangiaks food at the ployment bottom

bottom of the council ball, near the grate! of the Pachay and the people serowded the refli of the apartment. Having given the Kinya the names of those they meant to ap+ point, he read them aloud, cloathed the now Sangiaks with the caftan, presented them the firman, and proclaimed them Beys, on The ceremony ended, they conducted the Sheils El Balad and the Emir Hadge, in pemp, to their palaces. The procession was grand. Ibrahim and Mourad, riding horses beforegled with gold and diamonds, faluted the people. on their right land left, who, making arland for them, re-echoed their names with Mouts, withing themsall manner of prosperity 12 The two chiefs continually feathered handfuls of medins plattics, and fequines which wete as eagerly picked hip by the Egyptians Six hundred Mamluks, maghificently cloathed and mounted on horses richly capacifored, went before themed The Jahisfaries, Aslabs, and different bodies of troops, followeb in goodvordered This lafted two shours, and more than blour hundred thouland merowere ifpediators nord was surprised saluherd Mountsmerbus flould voluntarily fabruit to fever or eights thousands foreighers! Twhose londy embottom ployment

ployment is to rob, oppress, and crush them.

But the natives of Egypt, gentle, peaceable, and feeble, appear destined for eternal stationary; bending for ages under the yoke of despotism, they submit to every evil without a struggle: were they under a mild government, they would be the happiest people on earth; for not all the miseries they endure can tear them from a country which they passionately love.

Ibrahim and Mourad, having driven Ifat mael from Grand Cairo, resolved to extinguish the embers of his house. Hassan Bey they particularly feared, who, by his generofity, justice, and valour, had gained the favour of all ranks. Unable to destroy him by art, they employed open force; and disrected a fix-gun battery against his palace, whither he had retired, distributing troops in the neighbourhood to attack him on every fide. Haffan with his Mamluks courageously defended himfelf, and repelled all their afra faults. The noise of artillery spread conftern nation, war was made in the ftreets and from the roofs of the houses, buildings were beat down, the tumult of the combatants every where heard, and the cries of the wretched who

who were the victims of diffention. Bands of rafcals, profiting by the diforder, ran through all quarters of the city, forced doors, centered houses, and put all to fire and flword The French merchants were terrified, expecting every instant to see the gate of their diffrict forced, their fortunes ruined, and themselves perish amid their wives and children. I was an actor in this tragedy, and with fome young people determined to defend the entrance of the street to the last drop of blood, and, at least, to die Aghting . Our alarms were not ill founded; about two hundred banditti, with hatchets and arms of all kinds, came to break down the only gate that defended us, but, as it was very firong, and they expected to find refiftance, they took another route, and pillaged the neighbouring houses of This horrid frene lafted two days and two nights, during which the noile of cannon and mulquetry and the thricks of despair, never ceased by We had time to liften for not one of us could Acept book thatt, on the third day, we were ceived, from the top of our terraces, Haffan Bey, with two hundred Mamluks, fabre in hand; forcing a passage through his enemies, odw and

and escaping from Grand Cairo. Flying towards Syria, he men a body of three thoufand Arabs in the defert, of the enemy's party, who cut off his retreat. They tried to force their way through these squadrons, and fought desperately. The Mamluks all perished by his side, and he, covered with blood, defended himfelf for an hour. Being taken, the Arabs brought him back to the capital, and Hassan, at Boulac, entreated them to fuffer him to go, for a moment, into the house of a Sheik, one of his friends, and take a last farewell. They granted his request, and dispatched a courier to inform Mourad they brought his enemy prisoner, who immediately fent two hundred foldiers to bring him his head. They furrounded the house, and loudly demanded him; but the Sheik, refusing, declared he would never violate the laws of hospitality, by giving up his friend. They were proposing to use force, when Haffan faid, I will not fuffer you to expose yourself to the brutality of these madmen; they will murder you your wife, and children. Let me go So laying he tore himself from the arms of the Sheik, mounted the terrace, past to another, and

and perceiving the door of the house was guarded only by one foldier, descended fostly, opened it, curbed the arm that was lifted to Atthe him, pulled the foldier off his horfe, forced away his fabre, and fled full gallop to Grand Cairo. The foldiers, feeing this, flood fixed in amazement, but, coming to themselves, fired after the fugitive, and purfiled him with all speed. da Two of them having overtaken him, he cut them down With his fabre, and continued his esurfe. All the freets of Grand Cairo have gates for the public fecurity; feveral of these he shut, and, carrying the keys with him, stopped his enemies. Being come to the palace of Ibrahim, he entered the court of the haram, and covered his face with his flawl, that he might not be known. The wife of the Sheik El Balad was his kinfwoman, and he chtreated her to intercede in his behalf ofhe, accordingly, fell on her knees, and begged Toher country life; band brahim, welchting, took Haffan under his protection, had his "wounds cured," and long rented Mondad, who demanded his death blibut bleeing the Emir Hadge prepared for war if his demand rediction refutel, he came do telms with him, and and conferred the prisoner should be barished to Geddan Accordingly he was taken to Suez. and delivered to the mafter of a small vessel. who received forders to transport him to his place of exile. Two of his flaves, the voluntary companions of his ill fortune, knew the captain had a firman, figned by Mourad, which condemned their master to death when he should land, and immediately informed him of it. Haffan feigning ignorance, begged the captain to land him on the coast of Egypt, instead of taking him to Gedda; but neither his threats nor promises could prevail. This refused, he feized the arms that were on board, in the night, and, affifted by his flaves, killed the captain and three failors, flung the others overboard, and taking charge of the veffel, fleered her to Coffeir, and from thence to the Said, bearing with him the fum of fixteen thousand pounds, which he found in the veffel ofince when he has endeavoured to make partizans, and, perhaps, Imay hereafter return to Cairo victorious vaccording to the defires first, next followed the canalque and to

and the flight of the rest, rendered Ibrahim and Mourad absolute in Grand Cairoud All

bobitacles removed the Emir Hadge made ready, according to custom, to conduct the caravan of Meocast Pilgrims affembled from all parts, in the plain of Hellai, near the city, where about ten thousand tents were erected, covering a great extent of ground. Those of the officers and chiefs were of painted cloth lined with filk and fattin, and adorned with cultions of embroidered auff in gold and filver. Great numbers of fmall, coloured, glass lamps were literound each etent at hight, which produced a brilliant and diversified illumination; and the reflected light, gilding the foliage of the orange and date trees, dispersed over the country, had a charming effect. The relations and friends of the pilgrims came to pass this night with them, and, at break of day, the Emir Hadge gave the fignal with drums and trumpets. The tents were all ftruck, camels were baded with provisions and baggage, and the march began ven The wan-guard, a efcorted by a bddy of horfe, well mounted, went first; next followed the camel which carnied the carpet destined to cover the caaba, or house of God; this head adorned with lay fuperb plume of feathers, and his body seprered with cloth of gold, while priefts fung

fung round him the hymns of the Koran. About forty thousand pilgrims followed on foot, on horseback, and on camels. Five thousand cavaliers, in different corps. under the orders of the Emir Hadge, flanked the caravan, and a fmall number of women, borne in litters, went with them. The departure of this caravan was most magnificent. The men, well dreffed, feemed ftrong and healthy; the horses spirited and fiery. When they return their appearance is changed. The animals mean and languid, and the pilgrims pale, meagre, and fun-burnt, look like skeletons. This is an extremely severe journey, which lasts forty days, over deserts where they fometimes travel fifty leagues without finding a drop of water fit to drink. The fun's heat is excessive; the dust, which is raised by the feet of this multitude of men and beafts, obscures the air, fills the eyes and mouth, and takes away the breath. Sometimes the infectious fouth winds rife in whirlwinds fo dreadful that three or four hundred men perish in a day; but this is very advantageous to the Emir Hadge, who inherits the baggage and commercial effects of all who die on the road, and often returns to Militar Sugar . . blog 1. die

Grand Cairco with a third of the wealth which first departed with the caravan.

The earavan that Mourad headed, having passed the far end of the Red Sea, entered the Arabian deferts, where the Arabs affembled; and demanded the usual tribute; but he beheaded their chiefs, and, wanting force to diffute the paffage, they retired to their tents breathing vengeance. The caravan came fafe to Bedder, where, according to custom, it joined that of Damascus, and, fer days after arrived at Mecca. Mahometans, affembled from all parts of the world, remain a fortnight in this city, performing the duties of religion, and trading to an immente amount. Some of the pilgrims go to fulfil the command which ordains every Muffulman to visit the house of God once in his life; tothers, attracted by the hope of gain, carry thither the rareft products of their country; rich stuffs, the diamonds of India, the fine pearls of the Persian gulph, the famous balfam of the orientals, the blades of Damascus, Moka coffee, gold dust from Africa, and leguins from Grand Cairo, are all found here in abundance, where a bove an bundred thousand traders are afbovor. II. fembled:

fembled; it is the richest fair, perhaps, in the world. As the time is short, no calculation can be made of the vast amount of the fale during this fortnight. It were to be wished that some European, who understands Arabic, disguised like a merchant, could be prefent, and give descriptions, instead of those we have by word of mouth from people who go thither, and which cannot be received with implicit faith, because the Mussulmen do not willingly converse with infidels concerning their religion. Ships loaded with certain merchandizes of Europe and India, which should proceed to Gedda, then would find certain vent for their cargoes, for which they would be immediately paid in money. The English have made some successful voyages of this kind; which, no doubt, they would have continued, had not political views and disputes, between them and the natives, raifed obstacles.

Mourad Bey was not so fortunate returning as he had been when going. Several Arab tribes united to revenge the death of their chiefs: waiting for the caravan between the mountains, which they successfully attacked, and in which disorder and confusion

confusion at first reigned. Among the numbers which fell one over the other, as they fled, many were crushed; and many killed by the continual fire of the enemy. The Emir Hadge, having formed his troops, endeavoured to repel them, marching at the head of the Mamluks; and, notwithstanding the artillery of the Arabs, ascended the mountains, and a bloody battle enfued. The Emir loft many of his men, and was wounded in the thigh and arm by two bullets, which however did not hinder him from vanquishing the Arabs, and obliging them to fly in diforder. They appeared no more, and he came to Grand Cairo, exhausted with fatigue and almost dying. M. Grace, the French physician, was called in, and cured him, but not without fuffering many fears, for his life depended on that of the patient. The people of Grand Cairo left the city to meet their relations and friends; and, weeping the loss of brothers, fathers; and, hufbands, filled the air with lamentations. Disconsolate mothers rent their cloaths and covered their heads with dust; while others, joyful to meet the persons they loved, blessed Heaven, and were equally loud in their anilloiaup transports. transports. The various sensations the fight inspired are not to be expressed; excess of grief and intoxicated joy were alternately feen. Each pilgrim, returning to his house, found an apartment prepared, according to his condition of life; the walls painted; the furniture, carpets, fofas, and cushions, renewed; as if any thing ancient were unworthy the man who had made this holy pilgrimage. These incidents, Sir, prove the filial affection of the Egyptians, their piety, and the fublime ideas they have of their religion. Each perfon coming from Mecca ever after assumes the furname of Hadge (1), which he bears as an honourable title. The wealthy, dreading the fatigue of the journey, imagine they obey the command by fending a substitute and paying his expences.

About the end of 1779 I left Egypt, therefore cannot give a circumstantial account of subsequent events; only, by letters from Grand Cairo, I learn that the choleric Mourad, desirous of being Sheik El Balad, had declared war on his rival; that they had fought, were reconciled; and that, in 1784,

(1) Pilgrim.

quarelling again, they were each at the head of an army, and ready for battle, the fuccess of which I have not heard; but be the victor who he may, he will endeavour to raise his creatures, and exterminate the Beys of the opposite faction, till treason or defeat have brought him to a similar end.

Judge, Sir, of the state of Egypt, thus abandoned to eight thousand foreign banditti, who devour their rich provinces, and continually subject them to the horrors of war; but be your ideas what they may on its misery, they are below the truth. Agriculture ruined; the canals, which every where spread abundance, dry; arbitrary taxes violently raised; people of worth plundered and massacred; robbers in every office; war, pestilence, and famine; together with the statal effects of discord among the chiefs: such, Sir, are the woes under which the Egyptians groan.

I have the honour to be, &c.

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### LETTER XII.

ON THE AGRICULTURE OF THE COUNTRY.

Agriculture formerly flourished in Egypt; the great works performed to contain the river; and water the lands, and their decay. Products, seed-time, and harvest, differing according to the situation of the grounds. Their former abundance. How this prodigious fertility might be restored. The Egyptian management of bees, which they take in boats from one end of the kingdom to the other.

To M. L. M.

Grand Cairo.

AGRICULTURE, Sir, was honourable among the antient Egyptians, which they had rendered most flourishing throughout their empire; witness their immense labours for distributing the waters over the lands. There are still eighty canals, like rivers, several of which are twenty, thirty, and forty leagues in length, receiving and distributing

buting the inundation over the country. Except fix, the others are almost all filled up, and are dry when the Nile is low. The grand lakes of Mœris, Behira, and Mareotis, were vast reservoirs to contain the superabundant waters, and afterwards disperse them among the neighbouring plains. They were raised, over the high lands, by means of chain buckets, the invention of which is due to the Egyptians. One ox can turn them, and water a vast field. These machines gave Archimedes, during his voyage in Egypt, the idea of his ingenious screw, which is still in use. Besides these reservoirs, all the towns, a little distance from the Nile, are furrounded by spacious ponds for the convenience of the inhabitants and agriculture. The remains we find of large mounds. were to contain the river: they also stopped the torrents of fand, which incessantly tend to cover the face of Egypt. Aqueducts brought the water to the top of mounts, where there were immense cisterns hewed in the rock, and whence they afterwards ran among deferts, which they transformed into fruitful fields. Near Babain are the ruins of one of these aqueducts, running towards Lybia; it 0 4 bears

bears the majestic stamp of the works of the Egyptians, works not less miraculous, and more useful, than the pyramids and colossal figures of the Thebais. They prevented the ravages of high inundations, and supplied the defects of the low ones, thus feeding millions of inhabitants.

Twelve hundred years has this country been subjected to a people who, not farmers themselves, have suffered these great works to perish, and the ignorance of its present government will compleat their destruction. The limits of cultivated Egypt yearly decrease, and sterile sands every where accumulate. When the Turks conquered Egypt, in 1517, the lake Mareotis was near the walls of Alexandria, and the canal through which its waters ran to that city was navi-This lake has disappeared, and the lands it watered, which, according to historians, produced corn, wine, and fruits in abundance, are become deferts, where the melancholy traveller finds neither tree, shrub, nor verdure. The very canal, the work of Alexander, necessary for the subsistence of the city he had built, is almost filled up; it is dry, except when the waters are at the highest point

point of inundation, and foon becomes fo again. Forty years fince, a part of the mud which the waters had left was removed, and the stream remained three months longer; were it emptied entirely it would recover its antient utility. The Pelufiac branch, which ran to the eastern side of the Lake of Tanis. or Menzala, is absolutely destroyed, and with it the beautiful province it fertilized. The famous canal begun by Nechos (m), and finished by Ptolemy Philadelphus, was cut from this branch to Aggeroud (n), the antient Arsinoe, at the extremity of the Red Sea. Fearing that, by opening this communication, this fea, which they supposed eleven feet higher than the Mediterranean, would overflow the country, they formed great locks at its mouth. I think the fufpicion was ill founded, fince other canals, running from the Nile to the Red Sea, have not produced this inconvenience. Immortal works like these, executed by kings whose happiness and fame were the prosperity of their people, have not withflood the despoil-

<sup>(</sup>m) Strabo and Pliny confirm the fact.

<sup>(</sup>n) The Red Sea has retired two leagues fince Ptolemy; Aggeroud is now that distance from Suez.

ing conqueror, and that tyranny which defolates till itself lies buried under the ruins
of kingdoms whose foundations it has sapped.
The canal of Amrou, the last of the grand
labours of Egypt, and which ran from Fostat
to Colzoum, extends only four leagues beyond
Cairo, and is lost in the lake of the pilgrims.
Such, Sir, is the present state of the country,
and we may rest assured that more than onethird of the lands formerly cultivated are
become deserts, frightful to the traveller.

Population has equally suffered: Ancient Egypt supplied food to eight millions of inhabitants, and to Italy and the neighbouring provinces likewise. At present the estimate is not one half. I do not think, with Herodotus and Pliny, that this kingdom contained twenty thousand cities in the time of Amasis; but the aftonishing ruins every where found. and in un-inhabited places, prove they must? have been thrice as numerous as they are. You have condescended to read the account I have given of its present government, therefore cannot be aftonished at the kingdom's decline. Population is in proportion to the means of subfistence, and with them increases, diminishes, and dies. Now, while eight thoufand

fand foreigners rob, at pleasure, merchants and husbandmen, the first abandon commerce, the second agriculture, and the people sensibly become less numerous.

The lands all appertain to the chiefs, which they fell to individuals. When the proprietor dies it descends to the son, but he is obliged to purchase his father's inheritance; nor is he certain of obtaining it; the highest bidder, or the man of most credit, becomes proprietor. Who will improve lands which he cannot transmit to his successors? The farmer, wanting only a livelihood, leaves a part of his grounds untilled. Authorized by the treaty of Selim to levy arbitrary taxes, the Cachefs and Sangiaks commit unheard-of oppressions. The wretched labourer often wants food, and fells the instruments of husbandry to pay those impositions; while despotism renders it impossible to cultivate the richeft land in the world.

Evils not less fatal result from the vicissitudes of the government. When the Beys make war, the people take part in their quarrels, and mutually destroy each other with fire and sword. I have more than once seen villages burning, their inhabitants mas-

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facred by their neighbours, and the harvest consumed by the slames.

Confiderable fums are annually deducted by the chiefs from the tribute fent to Constantinople, for the repairing of public buildings and canals, which they are prevented from doing by their continual diffentions, and their want of money to purchase Mamluks, maintain troops, and increase their faction. This is a mortal blow to agriculture; the district, which owed its fertility and riches to a canal, not receiving sufficient water, becomes barren, and is abandoned. Traverfing deserts, and arid countries, for a course of nine hundred leagues, the Nile washes down a prodigious quantity of fand I have feen channels dug in and mud. which, during a year, it had deposited slime three feet deep; imagine, then, how fast it must dam up the useful canals, if men do not continually watch for their preservation, This very fact will explain how immense lakes are become dry, and provinces, formerly fertile, sterile and uninhabited.

What guilt is theirs who thus exhaust the sources of fertility! Wherever the beneficent waters of the Nile come, the earth is loaded with

with its treasures. They plow both in the Delta and the Said, and, the ox having made a shallow furrow, the field is hoed, and levelled like a garden. When fowed it is flightly harrowed, and here ends the labour of the husbandman, till harvest, which is abundant in the extreme, and never fails but with the inundation. The corn and barley, ripe, are reaped, and laid on the floor, and the farmer, feated in a cart, with cutting wheels, and drawn by oxen blind-folded, drives over the straw which it chops. The corn, winnowed, is yellow, large, and of exceeding good quality. The Egyptians eat red, half-baked bread; bad, because, instead of wind and water-mills, they use a handmill, and do not fufficiently fift the flour. A French baker made bread as white as fnow, and excellently tafted, with this fame wheat. Rice, as I have faid, requires a little more care; the field must be inundated. well cleared, and watered every day, when it is planted, which is done by the chain buckets. It is cut in five months, and the product is, usually, eighty bushels for one. Beside these grains, Egypt produces abundance of doura, or Indian millet, flax, formerly merly so famous, hemp, carthamus, or bastard saffron, and multitudes of exquisite melons, and vegetables which the people eat, during the heats.

Seed-time differs according to the province, and the height of the ground. Near Syene, wheat and barley are fown in October, and reaped in January. About Girja, the harvest month is February, and March round Grand Cairo: fuch is the general progress of the harvest through the Said. There are many exceptions, according as the lands are high or low, more or less distant from the river. They fow and reap all the year in lower Egypt, wherever they can obtain the water of the river. The land is never fallow, and yields three harvests, annually; there the traveller inceffantly beholds the charming profpect of flowers, fruits, and corn, and Spring, Summer and Autumn, at once, present their treasures. Descending from the cataracts, at the beginning of January, the wheat is feen almost ripe; farther on it is in ear; and still farther the fields are green. Lucerne is moved three times between November and March, and is the only hay of Egypt, ferving chiefly to fodder the cattle. Horses, asses, mules.

mules, and camels graze the meadows during winter, and they eat chopped straw, barley, and beans, the rest of the year, which kind of feed gives health, strength, and mettle. The Arabs accustom their horses to great abstinence, water them only once a day, and feed them with a little barley and milk.

The Egyptians, who seldom cultivate the olive, buy their oil in Crete and Syria, but, as the love of illuminations has descended to them from their forefathers, they extract oil from various plants: the commonest is the produce of the sesamum; they call it sireg, lamp-oil. They also extract it from the seed of the carthamus, from flax, poppies, and lettuce. The oil of the carthamus is eaten by the common people.

I have mentioned, Sir, the Egyptian art of hatching chickens, which is peculiar to themselves. Their manner of raising bees is not less extraordinary, and bespeaks great ingenuity. Upper Egypt, preserving its verdure only four or five months, the flowers and harvests being seen no longer, the people of the lower Egypt profit by this circumstance, assembling on board large boats the bees of different villages. Each proprietor

confides his hives, with his own mark, to the boatman; who, when loaded, gently proceeds up the river, and stops at every place where he finds verdure and flowers. The bees swarm from their cells, at break of day, and collect their nectar, returning, feveral times, loaded with booty, and, in the evening, re-enter their hives, without ever mistaking their abode. Thus sojourning three months on the Nile, the bees, having extracted the perfumes of the orange flowers of the Said, the essence of the roses of Favoum, the sweets of the Arabian jasmin, and of every flower, are brought back to their homes, where they find new riches. Thus do the Egyptians procure delicious honey, and plenty of wax. The proprietors pay the boatmen, on their return, according to the number of the hives which they have taken from one end of Egypt to the other.

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## LETTER XIII.

## ON THE CLIMATE OF EGYPT.

Heat excessive in the upper, and moderate in the lower, Egypt. The people subject to few diseases. Their manner of curing severs, and preserving health. Pernicious south wind during a part of winter. Leprosy unknown, and the plague not native, in Egypt. Europeans secured from it by secluding themselves.

#### To M. L. M.

#### Grand Cairo.

I HAVE spoken of Egypt, and its productions, Sir, but you have reason to entertain doubts concerning the salubrity of the climate. The Nile's inundation, and stagnant waters in various places, may lead you to suppose the country unhealthy, and its inhabitants subject to many diseases: some length of experience and information, collected on the spot, may display sacts that may calm your fears, and fix your opinion.

Yol. II. P Egypt.

Egypt, beginning at the torrid, extends nine degrees into the temperate zone, though certainly the heats of the Thebais surpass what are felt in many countries directly under the equator. Reaumur's thermometer, when the burning breath of the fouth is felt, sometimes rifes to thirty-eight degrees above the freezing point, and, often, to thirty-fix. This phænomenon must be attributed to the aridity of the fandy plains, which furround upper Egypt, and the reverberated fun-beams from the mountains, by which it is wholly inclosed. Were heat the principle of diseases, the Said would not be habitable, but it only feems to occasion a burning fever, to which the inhabitants are subject, and which they cure by regimen, drinking much water, and bathing in the river: in other respects they are strong and healthy. Old men are numerous, and many ride on horseback at eighty. The food they eat, in the hot feafon, much contributes to the preservation of their health; it is chiefly vegetables, pulse and milk. They bathe frequently, eat little, feldom drink fermented liquors, and mix much lemon juice in their food. This abstinence preferves vigour to a very advanced age. Soon

Soon after the inundation, the fields are covered with corn: the waters, exhaled by the fun during the day, and condensed by the coolness of night, fall in plentiful dews. The north wind, in fummer, continually blows, and, finding no obstacle through all Egypt, where the mountains are not high, drives the vapours of the marshes and lakes towards Abyffinia, and inceffantly changes the atmosphere. Perhaps the balfamic emanations of orange flowers, roses, the Arabian jasmine, and odorous plants, contribute to the falubrity of the air. The waters of the Nile, also, lighter, softer, and more agreeable to the tafte than any I know, greatly influence the health of the inhabitants. All antiquity acknowledges their excellence (a), and the people, certainly, drink them with a kind of avidity, without ever being injured

(a) Ptolemy Philadelphus marrying his daughter Berenice to Antiochus King of Syria, sent her water from the Nile, which, alone, she could drink. Athenæus.—
The Kings of Persia send for the waters of the Nile and Sal ammoniac. Dino History of Persia.

The Egyptians are the only people who preserve the water of the Nile in sealed vases, and drink it, when it is old, with the same pleasure we do old wine. Aristides Rhetor.

by the quantity. Being lightly impregnated with nitre, they are only a gentle aperient to those who take them to excess. I will not say, with many writers, they make the women prolific, and give strength and plumpness to the men; the faithful historian ought to stop where the marvellous begins, and relate only what he can warrant.

In Lower Egypt, the neighbourhood of the sea, the large lakes, and the abundance of the waters, moderate the sun's heat, and preserve a delightful temperature. Strabo and Diodorus Siculus, who long lived here, did not think the country unhealthy.

They have praifed its fruitful soil, its grateful productions, its stately monuments, and its great population; without mentioning the dreadful maladies of which the moderns have made it the seat. Herodotus positively says, "The Egyptians are the most healthy people on earth, which advantage they owe to the salubrity of the air, and temperature of the climate, which seldom varies; for most of the diseases of men ought to be attributed to the rapid vicission tude of the seasons." To some moderns, who have never seen this sine kingdom, and, especially,

especially, to M. Paw, it was reserved to teach us a contrary doctrine. He pretends that, at present, " this country is become, by the negligence of the Turks and Arabs. " the cradle of the pestilence; that another " epidemical disease, equally dreadful, ap-" pears here, occasionally, brought to Cairo " by the caravans of Nubia; that the cul-" ture of rice engenders numerous maladies. " that the want of rain and thunder occa-" fions the air of the Thebais to acquire a " violence that ferments the humours of " the human body, &c. (b)" These aftertions have an air of probability which might impose on people who have not lived in Egypt; but M. Paw has ventured opinions in his closet, without the guidance of experience: had he lived here, facts would have demonstrated the contrary.

In vallies, inclosed by high mountains, where the atmosphere is not continually renewed by a current of air, the culture of rice is unwholesome, and the husbandman, often, pays with his life the rich harvest the earth yields. But not so near Damietta and Rosetta. The plains are nearly on a level

<sup>(</sup>b) Recherches fur les Egyptiens et les Chinais.

with the fea; neither hill nor height impede the refreshing breath of the north, which drives the clouds and exhalations of the flooded fields fouthward, continually purifies the atmosphere, and preserves the health of the people. Whether this, or any other, be the cause, of which I am ignorant, certainly, the husbandmen who cultivate the rice are not more subject to diseases than those of the Thebais, who do not. I passed the whole year amidst rice fields, which I every day went to fee watered, without finding the least inconvenience. An old furgeon, a native of Nice, and who, thirty years, had practifed at Damietta, has repeatedly confirmed what I have advanced on the healthiness of the country. The greatest torment of the inhabitants are the gnats and musquitos, which, rising by millions out of the marshes, swarm in the air and the houses. The handkerchief must be held in the hand all day. It is the first thing a visitor receives, and, at night, it is necessary to sleep under musquiteros.

Diseases of the eyes are the commonest in Egypt, where the blind are numerous. This affliction ought not, wholly, to be attributed

to the reflected beams of a burning fun; for the Arabs, who live amidst fands, generally, have good eyes and a piercing fight: nor must we think, with Hasselquist (c), whose stay was short in this country, that the difease was occasioned by the exhalations of the stagnant waters; for the French merchants, whose houses are on the banks of the canal of Grand Cairo, that for fix months in the year contains water the fmell of which is insupportable, would be all blind, and for these fifty years not one has lost his fight (d). The origin of this disease, no doubt, is the Egyptian custom of fleeping in the open air, on the terraces their houses, or near their huts, during summer. The abundance of nitre in the atmofphere, and of night dews, attack the delicate organ of fight, and render them blind of one eye, or both. Eight thousand of these unfortunate people are decently maintained in the great mosque of Grand Cairo.

The fmall pox and ruptures are also very common in Egypt, without committing great

<sup>(</sup>c) Voyage d'Egypte.

<sup>(</sup>d) One, only, of these merchants became blind; but he lived in the city, not near the canal: wherefore this proves nothing in favour of Hasselquist's opinion.

ravages. As to pulmonary diseases, which, in cold countries, carry off so many, in the prime of youth, they are unknown in this happy climate. Those, I am persuaded, who are attacked by these cruel diseases, would recover health in a country where the air, oily, warm, moist, and replenished with the persume of plants, and the oil of the earth, seems most favourable to the lungs (e).

I must own, however, there is an unhealthy season in Egypt. From February till the end of May, the south winds blow, at intervals, and load the atmosphere with subtle dust, which makes breathing difficult, and drive before them pernicious exhalations. Sometimes the heat becomes insupportable, and the thermometer suddenly rises twelve degrees. The inhabitants call this

<sup>(</sup>e) M. Paw pretends the Egyptians have, in all ages, been leprous; but Herodotus, Strabo, and Diodorus Siculus, who knew the country well, do not mention the disease; a proof it was unknown there, in their time. In the Archipelago islands I have seen leprous people, sequestered from society, as they were among the Jews, inhabiting huts, near the road side, and asking alms: but in Egypt I never, in all my travels, met one of these wretches.

feafon Khamsin, fifty, because these winds are most felt between Easter and Whitsuntide, during which they eat rice, vegetables, fresh fish, and fruits; bathing frequently, and using plenty of persumes, and lemon juice, with which regimen they prevent the dangerous effects of the Khamsin.

It must not be supposed that this wind, which, in a few hours, corrupts meat and animal substances, blows fifty days; Egypt would become a defert. It feldom blows three days together, and, fometimes, is only an impetuous whirlwind which rapidly paffes, and injures only the traveller overtaken in the deferts. When at Alexandria, in the month of May, a tempest of this kind suddenly arose, driving before it torrents of burning fand: the ferenity of the fky difappeared, a thick veil obscured the Heavens, and the fun became blood-coloured. The dust penetrated even the chambers, and burnt the face and eyes. In four hours the tempest ceased, and the clearness of day appeared. Some wretches, in the deferts, were fuffocated, and several I saw brought dead, fome of whom, bathed in cold water, were restored to life. The inhabitants of Grand

Cairo,

Cairo, being more inland, suffer more; and a French merchant, who was fat, died, suffocated by the heat. Similar phænomena have buried caravans and armies.

Several modern authors, with M. Paw at their head, have faid the pestilence is native in Egypt. Were this true it would greatly diminish the advantages of the country, for neither fertility nor riches can preponderate against an evil so dreadful. I have collected information from the Egyptians, and foreign physicians who have lived there twenty or thirty years, which all tends to prove the contrary. They have assured me this epidemic difcase was brought thither by the Turks, though it has committed great ravages. I myself saw the caravelles of the Grand Seignor, in 1778, unlade, according to custom, the filks of Syria at Damietta. The plague is almost always on board, and they landed, without opposition, their merchandize, and their people who had the plague. It was the month of August, and, as the disease was then over in Egypt, it did not communicate that feason. vessels set sail, and went to poison other places. The fummer following, the ships of Constantinople, alike infected, came to

their diseased, without injury to the inhabitants. Since this time, the ships of Smyrna have brought the contagion here, at the beginning of winter; it has spread over the country, and a part of the Egyptians have perished.

The following is an observation of ages. During the months of June, July, and August. if infected merchandize be brought into Egypt, the pestilence expires of itself, and the people have no fears; and if brought at other feafons, and communicated, it then ceases. A proof that it is not native in Egypt is that, except in time of great famine, it never breaks out in Grand Cairo, nor the inland towns, but always begins at fea ports, on the arrival of Turkish vessels, and travels to the capital, whence it proceeds as far as Syene. Having come to a period in Grand Cairo, and being again introduced, by the people of Upper Egypt, it renews, with greater fury, and, fometimes, fweeps off two or three hundred thousand fouls; but always stops in the month of June, or those who catch it then are always cured. Should these cessations be attributed

of summer, or the heavy dews? Perhaps these causes all contribute (f).

We ought not to pass over another striking remark, which is, that the excess of heat and cold are equally destructive of this dreadful contagion; winter kills it at Constantinople, and summer in Egypt; it seldom reaches the polar circle, and never passes the tropic. The caravans of Grand Cairo, Damascus, and Ispahan, which are sometimes insected,

(f) I cannot forbear citing an incident, Sir, which was told me by a captain, deferving credit, because it may afford information to those physicians who seek an antidote against this destructive evil. " I left Constantinople, where the plague was raging, and my failors had con-" tracted the disease. Two suddenly died, and, by affist-" ing them, I was infected. I felt excessive heat, which " made my blood boil: the disease seized my head, and I " perceived I had only a few moments to live. The lit-" the remaining reason I had taught me to attempt an "experiment. I laid myself, quite naked, all night on the deck; the heavy dews that fell penetrated to my " very bones, and, in a few hours, I could breathe freer, " and my head was better; my agitated blood became and, bathing, the morning after, in the fea, I was perfectly cured." I know not, Sir, whether the remedy be infallible, but this I am certain, that no pestiferous matter, passed through water, will communicate the infection.

never

never propagate it at Mecca; and Yemen is fafe from the plague.

History seldom mentions its appearance at Lacedemon, Athens, and Byzantium. When it spread in Greece, the people expelled it by keeping large fires in the open places, cleaning the canals, levelling hills which stopped the vapours, and preventing communication. Neither the air, fun, nor water of these fine countries are changed: the same salubrity would still exist were they inhabited by nations whose government watched over the well-being of the citizens, and the public safety. Smyrna and Constantinople are now the refidence of this dreadful affliction, which must be attributed to the little value in which the Turkish government holds the lives of men, and their absurd ideas on predestination. Of what confequence is it to the despot though half his people perish, if he, shut up in his seraglio, be secure; or to the Mahometan, while the plague fweeps thoufands from his fide; fince he must live till his hour is come, to endeavour to retard it would be vain?

When the infection pervades the European and Greek habitations, they purify them by fumigating,

fumigating, leaving the windows open, that the air may freely circulate, and burning all the effects of the pestiferous. Not so the Armenians and Turks; they neither burn nor purify. The Jews purchase, at a low price, the goods and wares which remain when the greatest part of the family are deceased, and store them up; which, when the plague is over, they fell at a dear rate to those who will purchase, and thus propagate the pestilential poison (g); again it kindles, and presently causes new destruction. Thus this opprobrious nation, preferring gold to life, fell the plague to Musfulmen, who purchase it without fear, and sleep with it till the time that, revived itself, it hurries them to the grave.

The European stands aghast with fear at the calamities it produces in Grand Cairo. According to the commissioners of the customs, this city contains from eight to nine hundred thousand inhabitants. They are so crouded that two hundred citizens here, occupy less space than thirty at Paris. The

<sup>(</sup>g) The last plague at Moscow carried off two hundred thousand people, and was brought by infected merchandize from the storehouses of the Jews.

streets are very narrow, and always full of people, who croud and jostle each other; and the passenger is, sometimes, obliged to wait several minutes before he can make his way. One person with the plague will communicate it to a hundred; its progress is rapid, and spreads with the violence of a conflagration, while the wind augments its slames. The Mahometans die in their houses, public squares, and streets, without one of them endeavouring to save himself. Ellmoukaddar, say they; It is sate; yet have they the example of the Europeans, who, alone, escape the general disaster.

When the disease breaks out, the French shut up their district, and intercept all communication with the city. Arab servants, who live without, every day bring them such provisions as they want, and, except bread, which does not communicate the insection, they throw what they bring through an aperture, cut in each door, into a tub of water, by which it is purified, and used without fear. These precautions give health and life to the French merchants, while surrounded with all the horrors of death. Burials, surreal processions, and tears, are in every

street; for when the Egyptians bury their relations and friends, there are hired mourners who make the air resound with their lamentations (b), and defolate mothers, who, groaning, cover their faces with duft, rend their cloaths, attending to the grave the child they have nurtured, and whom they foon after follow; for the Eastern people, more pious than we are, never forfake their infected relations, but affift them to the last moment, though almost certain their affection will be fatal. These cries of despair, and funeral pomp, spread a general consternation, and the French tremble in their afylums. Who. indeed, could fee unmoved, or unterrified, humanity fuffering under a visitation for fearful?

All do not die who are attacked; but, I have been assured, the plague sometimes car-

The islanders of the South Sea carry filial piety and maternal tenderness farther; deeply wounding themselves in the face, at the death of their relations, and testifying their grief by streams of blood.

<sup>(</sup>b) It was the same in the time of Herodotus. "When a person of samily dies, all the women relations bemire their faces, and run through the city with their hair dishevelled, their bosoms bare, and their garments tucked up; beating their breasts, and uttering loud cries." Euterpe.

ries off three hundred thousand people from Grand Cairo, Could you suppose, Sir, the example of the French, who, when the contagion is past, all leave their houses safe, and in health, would not induce the Turks to use like precautions? Could you imagine that, throughout the whole Ottoman empire. quarantine is not performed at one fingle port; or merits a nation like this to inhabit the country of the ancient Greeks, and Egyptians? The Turks have destroyed arts, commerce, and liberty; and fuffer, for want of laws, their wretched flaves to perish. They perpetuate the most dreadful scourge known to humanity, and change famous islands, flourishing cities, and kingdoms, into deferts.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Vol. II. Q LETTER

nies off three handged thousand people from Grand Caires, Could you Papedle, Sir, the

## example o'VIX PRET T'T E'R' the con-

ON THE VARIOUS INHABITANTS OF EGYPT.

The Copts, the descendants of the Egyptians, have lost the genius and science of their ancestors. The Arabs are the next oldest inhabitants of the country, where they have twice reigned. Those who, subject to the Beys, cultivate their lands, have lost the good faith natural to their nation. Those who live under their Sheiks have preserved their honesty and virtue. The Bedouins, inhabiting the deserts, at open war with all caravans; but generous, hospitable, and faithful to their oaths. Mechanic arts exercised by the Christians of Syria, Greeks and Jews; and sew real Turks in Egypt.

## To M. L. M.

Grand Cairo.

I HAVE only flightly noticed the various nations who inhabit Egypt; and it is proper, Sir, to describe their characters, customs, and and arts, more circumstantially. The Arabs, particularly, who surround, and, in part, occupy the kingdom, deserve our attention. What I have to offer will explain how four millions of men are held in subjection by eight thousand foreigners; and how a wandering nation has preserved its liberty and laws encircled by formidable powers.

The real native Egyptians are the Copts, called fo, according to fome authors, from Cophtos, once a famous city in the Thebais; and to others from Cobtos, cut, because they have always preserved the use of circumcision. These, only, are the descendants of the ancient Egyptians; and who, more than two thousand years, subjected by foreign powers, have loft the genius and science of their forefathers, though they have preserved their customs, and the antient vulgar tongue. The transmitted knowledge from father to son of all arable lands, their value, and extent, occasions them to be chosen clerks to the Beys, and stewards to the governors; and that they may conceal their accounts from these Lords, most of them are written in Coptic. They, notwithstanding, do not perfectly understand the language; but, as their miffals. Q 2

missals, pentateuch, and various other works they possess, have an Arabic translation, their antient language is not lost; in some suture time it, perhaps, may supply the learned with means of dispelling the obscurity of the first ages, during the reign of the Pharaohs, and remove the veil from the mysterious hieroglyphics.

The Copts embraced Christianity at its birth; and Amrou, having conquered Egypt, permitted them the free exercise of the Christian religion: since when they have ever had churches, priests, bishops, and a patriarch, who has fixed his residence at Grand Cairo ever fince it became the capital. Adhering to the rites of Monothelism, their ignorance will not fuffer them to discover the dereliction into which they are fallen, and in which they are fo confirmed, by obstinacy and a fectary spirit, that nothing could oblige them to change their religion. Numerous superstitious practices, received from their ancestors, are mingled in their worship; but they are mild, humane, and hospitable. Paternal tenderness and filial love constitute their domestic happiness, where every tie of blood is cherished and honored. Inland trade, the the art of hatching eggs, and raising bees, are almost the whole of their knowledge. They often enrich themselves by the administrations entrusted to them; but do not tranquilly enjoy the fruits of their labours. The Bey who beholds them opulent, often, strips them of their riches, without mercy; and happy are they can they purchase life with the loss of fortune. Such oppressions do not excite revolt; their want of energy keeps them enchained in poverty and subjection, which they support without murmuring.

After the Copts, the Arabs are the most antient people of Egypt, where they twice have reigned. Their first dominion was in the remote ages of antiquity, and, according to some authors, before the time of Joseph. The second begun in the seventh century and ended in the twelsth. Two-thirds of the present inhabitants are Arabs, the manners of whom differ according to their mode of life. Those who, become husbandmen, are governed by their foreign masters, present a striking example to philosophers of the influence of laws over men. Beneath a tyrannic government, they have lost that good faith

and uprightness which characterize their They take part in their master's quarrels. Villages arm against villages, and towns against towns; and, during the revolutions which are continually reviving in Grand Cairo, the country presents a frightful fcene of carnage and horror; flames devouring the harvest, and the blood of the labourer shed on the earth he had tilled. Hatred being eternal among these people, and the mother imparting, with her milk, the defire of vengeance to her fon, men are born here for mutual destruction. Those degenerate Arabs called Fellah, render the navigation of the Nile exceedingly dangerous, attack boats in the dark, massacre passengers, seize their effects, and commit every kind of outrage.

Another division of the Arabs, who may be called husbandmen, are governed by their Sheiks, who posses various principalities in the Thebais. This word, signifying elder, is the proud sign of their power. Now, as heretofore, they are the judge, the pontis, and the sovereign of their people; yet governing more like fathers of families than kings. These venerable patriarchs usually take their meals at the doors of their houses,

or tents, inviting all comers: rifing from table, they cry aloud, Whoever is bungry let bim, in the name of God, come and eat, which is not a barren form; any man, whoever he may be, has a right to fit down and feed on what he finds. Suffer me to cite the passage where Abraham receives the angels, that you may compare the manners of this people with those of ancient times (i). The a indicate

" And the Lord appeared unto Abraham,

" in the plains of Mamre: and he fat in the

" tent door in the heat of the day.

" And he lifted up his eyes and looked,

" and lo, three men stood by him: and when

" he faw them, he ran to meet them from

" the tent-door, and bowed himself toward the election is non exeguated

" the ground,

" And faid, My Lord, if now I have

" found favour in thy fight, pass not away,

" I pray thee, from thy fervant:

" Let a little water, I pray you, be fetch-

" ed, and wash your feet, and rest yourselves

" under the tree: with introval ob ement

immediatel

" And I will fetch a morfel of bread, and

" comfort ye your hearts; after that you

(i) Genefis, chap. XVIII. ver. 1—8.

- " shall pass on: for therefore are ye come to
- " your servant. And they said, So do as
- " thou hast said.
  - " And Abraham hastened into the tent

THE THE THE SECOND SECTION

- " unto Sarah, and faid, Make ready quickly
- " three measures of fine meal, knead it, and
- " make cakes upon the hearth.
  - " And Abraham ran unto the herd, and
- " fetcht a calf tender and good, and gave it
- " unto a young man; and he hasted to dress
- " it. Sales the stand of bearing set of
- " And he took butter and milk, and the
- " calf which he had dreffed, and fet it be-
- " fore them; and he stood by them under
- " the tree; and they did eat."

The Arabs give the like reception to strangers and travellers who approach their tents; servants wash their feet, women knead unleavened bread, bake it on the hearth, and serve them roast mutton, milk, honey, and the best provisions they possess. The little taxes which the Sheiks levy over their domains do not oppress their subjects, who love them. The Arab comes with his complaints to their tribunal, and, not being complicated, the light of nature, reason, and the simple and clear laws of the Koran are sufficient, immediately,

immediately, to terminate differences. Their judgments are, mostly, dictated by equity, and, under this paternal government, man, enjoying all his liberty, is attached to his prince by ties, only, of respect and gratitude, to whom he speaks freely, and praises or blames as he finds occasion. I will cite a passage which shews how far the Arabs carry this frankness.

Elmanfor, the fecond of the Abasside Caliphs, founded Bagdad, in 769, became famous by his victories and power, and the capacity with which he governed immense territories. His affability was extreme, yet all these good qualities were tarnished by unbounded avarice. An Arab, one day, approaching him, faid, "Health to the father of Jafar"-" Health be to thee," answered Elmanfor-" Thou art of the generous race of Haschem; grant me a small part of the immense treasure thou possessest."-" Not to me, but to the Apostle of God, shouldest thou address thy prayers."-" My garments are torn, and age has robbed me of strength." -" Let us change, take mine."-Elmanfor, immediately stripping, gave him his clothes;

but the Arab, perceiving they were worn out and patched, said, Art thou not acquainted, Caliph, with the sentence of the son of Harima? "The rich miser, who cloathes "himself in rags, is nevertheless subject to "death."

Thus freely do the Arabs speak to their Chiefs. Devoted to their interest, the least token from them will make them arm to repel the oppression of the Turks, who never could fubject them; for, if victorious, they remain in their territories; if vanquished, they abandon them, taking their wives, children, and flocks, amid the deferts. Profiting, afterwards, by times of trouble and diforder, they return armed, attack their foes, and regain their possessions. Were these Chiefs to unite their forces, and form a league against the Turks, they would eafily drive them from Egypt, and become its masters. But the policy of the Beys prevents fuch a union, by fowing diffention, aiding the feeble, confirming the authority, only, of those whom they think favour their own views; and, especially, by fraud or poison, taking off the Emirs whose power, talents, or ambition The they dread.

The Arabs are the best of people; ignorant of the vices of polished nations, incapable of difguise, they know neither falsehood nor knavery. Haughty and generous, they repel infult by arms, and never employ treachery; hospitality is facred among them, their houses and tents are open to travellers of all religions, and their guests are treated with as much respect and affection as their own kindred; and so far is this honourable virtue carried, that, should the enemy, whose death they have determined, fubmit to come and drink coffee with them, he has nothing more This, only, can make them forget refentment, and renounce the pleasure of revenge. You will form an idea of their honesty by the following fact, of which I was a witness. An Arab Sheik had long, annually, come to the district of the French, where he took up goods on credit, of a merchant, still coming the following year, at the fame time, bringing the money, and taking fresh merchandize. Sickness, one year, prevented him from coming, himself, at the appointed time; but he fent his fon, with the money, and continued a trade equally honourable to both nations.

A third

A third species of Arabs is comprised under the general denomination of Bedaoui, inhabitants of the deferts, a pastoral people who refide in the burning folitudes which stretch to the east and west of Egypt. They are divided into tribes, meddle not with agriculture, and feed on barley, dates, and the flesh and milk of their herds, which they drive into the vallies; where they find water and pasturage. Having exhausted one place, they load their camels with their tents, wives, and children, mount their horses, and the whole tribe seeks a new abode. Mafters of the deferts, they are the enemies of all caravans, attack them whereever they can find them, and force them either to fight or pay tribute. If the reliftance be too powerful, they retreat without fear of pursuit; if they conquer, they pillage every body, divide the spoil, but never kill any one, unless to revenge the death of their companions. A traveller putting himself under their protection has nothing to fear, either for life or wealth, for their word is facred; and neither have I read in hiftory, nor learnt in these countries, where they inhabit, that any Arab ever violated fworn faith.

faith. This is a characteristic mark which distinguishes them from all other nations. Their love of plunder never makes them forget the rights of hospitality, which are not less honoured by them than by the husbandmen Arabs. After the miseries M. de St. Germain underwent, croffing Suez, he came, expiring, to the tent of a Bedouin, to whose generous cares he owed his life, and who conducted him to Grand Cairo, as foon as his health was recovered. M. Pagès fled over the fands of Arabia deserta, with seven Arabs; he had loft his water and provisions, and, falling from his camel, was in danger of being facrificed to the refentment of an infulted tribe. One of his companions alighted, and, at the risk of his life, took him up behind him, till they came into a place of fafety. The whole provision of the Arabs, during the journey, was a barley cake a day, and not a large one. This they divided into eight portions, and the one they gave the stranger was always twice as much as their own.

An excessive love of liberty occasions them to prefer the dreary wilderness, where they live independent, to the rich plains of Egypt, where where they must live slaves. Government has several times offered them lands, which they have constantly refused, because they must have submitted to tyrants; and this independent spirit, so well pourtrayed in the Scriptures, they have inviolably preserved from the time of Ishmael, their father. Herodotus, one of the most ancient historians, speaks of them thus: - " Cambyses (k), de-" firous to lead his armies into Egypt, fent " ambaffadors to the King of the Arabs, " to require a safe passage through his coun-" try, which was granted, and the two na-" tions promifed mutual faith. The Arabs " are, of all people, the most faithful to their oaths. The manner in which they " make their treaties is thus: one of them; " standing between the contracting parties, " lacerates the palm of their hands, with a " fharp stone; then, collecting wool from " their garments, he stains it with blood, " and rubs feven stones with it, which are " placed between them, invoking Bacchus " and Urania. If the person soliciting al-" liance be a foreigner, he afterwards be-

<sup>(</sup>k) Herodotus Thalia.

"comes their facred guest; if a country"man, they regard him as one of the tribe
"with whom he has formed this compact,
"which is ever after inviolable." The
Arabs no longer observe the same ceremonies; they now are satisfied, when they
treat, with mutually shaking hands, and
swearing, by their head, they will faithfully
observe the conditions stipulated, and they
never are perjured.

Diodorus Siculus, many ages after Herodotus, paints them in the fame colours. I will cite a passage, because it will shew how little these people have changed, and because, perhaps, it is the sole portrait history affords which, after a lapse of eighteen hundred years, resembles the same nation.

"The wandering Arabs (1) inhabit the open plains, having no houses; they

" themselves call their country a wilderness,

" and chuse not their abode in places where

"rivers and springs abound, lest these al-

" lurements might bring enemies into their

" neighbourhood. Their law, or their cuf-

"tom, forbids them to fow corn, plant

<sup>(1)</sup> Diodorus Siculus, lib. 19.

" fruit trees, drink wine, or inhabit houses; " which whoever should violate would in-" fallibly be punished with death, being per-" fuaded that the man, who would subject " himself to such wants, would presently " subject himself to masters; for their pre-" fervation. Some have herds of camels, " others flocks of sheep, and the latter are " the most wealthy; exclusive of the gains " of their flocks, they come to fea ports and " fell incense, myrrh, and other precious er aromatics, which they obtain from the " inhabitants of Arabia Felix. Jealous of " their liberty to excess, they fly, at the " approach of an army, to the recluses of " their deferts, the extent of which ferves " them as a rampart. Finding no water, " an enemy dares not purfue; while the " Arabs are supplied by reservoirs hidden " under ground, and known only to them-" felves. The foil being a foft clay, they " find means to dig vast, deep, and square, " cisterns; each side a hundred feet (or " plethron) which, filling with rain water, " they close up the entrance, and, render-" ing the ground uniform, leave only fome " flight mark, imperceptible to any but " themselves.

\* themselves. They accustom their cattle to drink only once in three days (m), that, when obliged to fly across parched " fands, they may fupport thirst. They " themselves live on flesh, milk, and the commonest fruits. The pepper-tree grows in their country (n), and they have much wild honey, which they drink with water. There are other Arabs, who cultilee vate the earth, and, like the Syrians, pay cribute; differing from them in nothing, except that they do not inhabit houses. Such, nearly, are the manners of these " people." This sketch, by an enlightened historian, is remarkably exact, and exhibits the Bedouins of the present times. Permit me to quote a passage, from the same author, which is finely descriptive of their honesty, and the knavery of the Greeks. " The Nabathean Arabs forfook the deferts, to go to a famous fair; leaving, at their

(#) The Abyssinians, who return by Girja into their own country, having a desert of seven days journey to cross, accustom their camels to live thus long without water.

(n) I believe Diodorus is mistaken, and that pepper is brought to Arabia by the ships coming from India.

Vot. II.

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" departure,

" departure, their wealth, children, and " wives, in the caverns of a mountain; " which, being two days, journey from any " habitable place, and defended by its fitu-" ation, and burning folitudes, feemed fafe " from enemies. The Greeks, however, " thirsting for gold, took this opportunity " to attack them. Athenaus, a comman-" der under Antigonus, left Idumea with a " body of light armed troops, marched " 2200 stadia in three days and three nights, " arrived at the afylum of the Nabatheans, " forced it, killed a part of the unfortunate " people they found, took a great number " of prisoners, and carried off the incense, " myrrh, and five hundred talents of filver, " which had been there deposited. Heat " and fatigue obliged them to halt 200 stadia " from the rock, where a hafty camp was " formed. The foldiers, overwhelmed with " laffitude, and thinking they had nothing " to fear, yielded to the sweets of sleep. "The Nabatheans, however, hearing of " this invasion, immediately departed, and " arrived at their abode. The complaints " of the wounded, and the blood of the " aged, inspired horror; they flew to ven-" geance,

" geance, and foon came up with the enemy. Some prisoners, profiting by the " negligence of the Greeks, got free, and " informed them of the state they were in. " The Arabs, hearing this, attacked the " camp on all fides, which, favoured by " darkness, they penetrated, massacred the " fleeping foldiers, and transfixed those with " their darts who rose to take arms. The " flaughter was general, only fifty horse " escaping, most of them wounded. The " Nabatheans, having recovered their pri-" foners and wealth, brought them back, " and, after giving the Greeks this lesson, " wrote to Antigonus, to complain of Athe-" næus, and justify their conduct. The " monarch disclaimed the act of his general, " faid it was undertaken without his know-" ledge, and that they were justified in their " defence; using this diffimulation to ren-" der them unsufpicious, and hoping to find " a more favourable opportunity to revenge " his army's defeat. But the Arabs, " placing little faith in the Greeks, kept " on their guard, and fet centinels on the " heights, to give intelligence of the ap-" proach of the enemy, and they foon pro-R 2 " fitted " fited by their prudence. Some months " having elapsed, Antigonus sent eight thou-" fand chosen men against them, command-" ed by his fon Demetrius, who marched " his army through unfrequented places, " that he might take them by furprize. "Warned by their spies, the Nabatheans " fent their flocks into the depths of the " deferts, and fortified themselves on the " mountain, which Demetrius found guard-" ed by their brave youth, by whom he " was vigorously opposed. After ineffec-" tually attacking them with his whole " force, he retreated, in feeming flight, but " returned to the affault on the morrow, " with no greater success. An Arab, then, " with a loud voice, thus called: Where-" fore, O king Demetrius, wouldest thou " war with a people who inhabit a wilder-" ness, without water, wine, or food, and " containing none of all the things which excite, among you, avarice and strife? " The dread of flavery brought us to the defert, deprived of all the allurements men with fuch avidity feek, and has reduced " us to a wild and folitary life, which makes " us incapable of doing you injury. We " therefore

" therefore intreat you, and the king your father, to molest us not: nay, we will " fend you presents, to induce you to retire, " and account the Nabatheans among your " faithful friends; and, should not these " motives prevail, necessity foon will force " you to forfake a wilderness, where you " will want water and food. We never " will subject ourselves to other manners. "What, then, do you hope from this ex-" pedition? The most you can obtain will " be fome few flaves, whom force, only, " can hold in fervitude, and who never will " bend to your modes and customs.-Struck by this discourse, Demetrius made peace " with the Nabatheans."

Such, Sir, were the Arabs, before and after Alexander, and such are they still. The love of independance still lives in their hearts, and their aversion to all foreign subjection still makes them prefer the dreary desert to the most captivating plains. Liberty has so many charms that, to obtain it, they firmly support hunger, thirst, and the scorching sun. Sometimes humbled, but never enslaved, they have braved all the powers of the earth, and shook off the chains in R 3 which

which other nations have alternately been bound. The Romans, masters of the world. lost the armies they sent to conquer their country. The Egyptians, Persians, and Ottomans, never could fubdue them. Thus, this proud people is the fole nation which has preserved that haughtiness of character, generofity, and inviolable fidelity, which fo highly honour humanity. Deceit and perjury they know not. Ignorant of, though not despising, science, sound reason, uprightness, and elevation of soul, distinguish them from all the orientals. In the presence of strangers, as in the presence of their princes, they preserve the dignity of man, which they never debase by vile flattery. Serious, but not furly, acute, but not oftentatious, frank, yet not rude, they are acquainted with the charms of a conversation sometimes chearful and fometimes wife. Their friendship is facred, and their friend is their brother. Nor are they strangers to delicacy of fentiment: their poems are pictures of that ardent passion they respire, under their fiery fky; and, fometimes, of that gallantry which feems to belong to people more polished. These, Sir, are the Arabs which the

the genius of a fingle man united, to the deftruction of thrones, the conquering of kingdoms, and the imposing of laws on two
thirds of the earth. Their conquests are
lost, but their character, religion, and manners, preserved. Should another Mahomet
arise, in the east, capable of collecting their
scattered tribes, he again might subject Asia,
and Africa, to their dominion. The philosopher, who would study man in his primitive state, should reside among the Arabs,
and not with people whose mind, heart, and
affections, have been debased by despotism,
and servitude.

Except the Copts and Arabs, the Mograbians, or western Mahometans, are the most numerous inhabitants of Egypt: they devote themselves some to trade, and some to arms. Their nation ought not to be judged by the individuals at Grand Cairo: those who become soldiers are adventurers, most of them guilty of crimes, and banished from their country, by the sear of justice. These mercenary, faithless, lawless, soldiers abandon themselves to every excess, and always sell themselves to that Bey who is the best bidder.

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There

There are not many real Turks here, exclusive of the Janissaries and Assabs; who, abusing their power, pillage Egyptians, and foreigners, and employ every means to amass great riches. They sometimes become formidable to the Pacha and Beys; and sell their suffrages. Like the Mograbians, they are neither disciplined, understand the art of gunnery, nor would it be possible for them to oppose the military science of the Europeans.

The Syrian Christians, Greeks, and Jews, addict themselves entirely to commerce, exchange, and the mechanic arts. Their ductile cunning promotes them, occasionally, to be commissioners of the customs, and receivers of the revenues of Egypt; but their honesty may not be depended on, and their arts should always be watched. Having obtained power, they employ it to oppress European Merchants, invent exactions, and shackle their commerce. Many of them are Goldsmiths, and work in gold, filver, and jewellery, with tolerable skill. Their performances in fillagree are estimable. Several of them have established manufactories of light stuffs, made from Bengal cotton and the

the filk of Syria, which are purchased by the natives. Though well woven, these stuffs fail in the dye, the colours being neither so vivid, nor so unfading, as those of India; which we must attribute to the ignorance of the artists, for Egypt produces excellent indigo, carthamus, and various dyes. Their linen cloths have the same defect. Egyptian slax, formerly so renowned, has lost nothing of its excellence: the fibres are long, soft, and silky, and would make beautiful cloth; but the spinners are so bad that their linen is very coarse.

The amount of these inhabitants, Sir, so different in their manners, religion, and nations, is near four millions; whom eight thousand Mamluks govern. This will not long excite your surprize, when you recollect that, under Augustus, three cohorts were sufficient to guard the Thebais; as Strabo informs us, who, one of the first historians of antiquity, was an ocular witness of the fact.

" The Egyptian is an extremely populous,

" but not a warlike, nation: nor are the

" neighbouring people more fo. Cornelius

"Gallus, the first Roman governor sent to

" Egypt,

" Egypt, marched against the inhabitants of "Heroopolis (a), who had revolted, and again subjected them with a few foldiers. Severe taxes having excited a general re-"bellion in the Thebais, jit was immediately " quelled, on his appearance. Petronius, after him, heading a few cohorts, repelled " the impetuolity of many thousand Alex-" andrians, who had attacked him, leaving " a great number dead on the field of battle. " Ælius Gallus, entering Arabia with a part of the troops that garrifoned Egypt, prov-" ed, by his victories, how little these people " were addicted to war; and, had it not " been for the treachery of Syllæus, would " have conquered Arabia Felix. During his " absence, the Ethiopians made an irruption into the Thebais, threw down the statues " of Cæsar, carried off the feeble garrisons of Syene, Philæ and Elephantina. Petro-" nius purfued them, with ten thousand foot " and eight hundred horse; and, though " their army was thirty thousand strong, " forced them to retire to Pselcha, a city in

<sup>(</sup>a). This city is absolutely destroyed, and its ruins buried under the sands of the isthmus of Suez.

Ethiopia. Not obtaining a restitution of " the captives, by his ambaffadors, he pene-" trated their country, and gave them battle. "Their ill-armed, undisciplined, troops " could not withstand the Roman valour: " fome fled to the deferts, fome to the capi-" tal, and others escaped, by swimming, to " an island in the river. Among the latter " were several generals of Candace, the war-" like queen of Ethiopia. Petronius croffed " the Nile, in boats, took them all prisoners, " fent them to the city of Alexandria, and " afterwards laid fiege to Pfelcha, which he " subjected, a part of the inhabitants perish-" ing in the attack. He next marched for "Premnis, a place fortified by nature, to " arrive at which he croffed the vaft fandy " deferts where the army of Cambyles was " fmothered in the fands (p). Carrying it by affault, he then belieged Napata, where " was the fon of Candace, in a royal palace. " The queen, from a neighbouring fortrels, " fent ambaffadors to treat of peace; offering " to restore the captives, and statues, to the

<sup>(</sup>p) This confirms what I have cited from Herodotus.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Roman

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"Roman general, who, without listening to proposals, attacked and vanquished the place; but the young prince escaped by flight. Believing it would be difficult to penetrate farther, he returned to Egypt; carrying with him great wealth, and leaving four hundred men to garrison Premnis, with stores and provisions for two years."

This paffage, Sir, perfectly describes the imbecility of the Egyptians, and Ethiopians, in the Roman times; and they are still the fame. Long flavery has but extinguished the little energy they had; and their ignorance of arms even furpaffes their cowardice. During the alarm which civil war spread through Grand Cairo, we heard the fix pieces of artillery play from the castle on the city, and observed that the gunners employed half an hour in loading them; for this was the space of time between each discharge. You will judge, Sir, whether fuch troops could, a mon ment, withstand a few European regiments. Any warlike nation that should attack Egypt would conquer it, without impediment, and Ethiopia, with equal facility; after which, masters

masters of their gold and their waters, they might fend the Nile, at pleasure, through Egypt, where they might maintain inexhauftible plenty. SHT TO SERVETE SERVE TO NO.

. SXLITA THE VER HOUSE I have the honour to be, &c.

I Tomming a final-remove amount Charlenge and in the section The Legingers of Land as a frield or colour, and ou the authority of the misoration in that privately about the minimater without bounds to tree courses of suga. Marlarge transmitted of hearth of the matters and

a er . . . . . Aikit annonn silvi a fill a Aikit before the constant of the contract coles, of the cole but do not unishlate to ci-Tetras add various of all crosses in another from Lita . manto much every library library tipate wills, should be fire, since their own suppliesting the cast of their children, depute on this keep ledge, and the freedom. (Ancrashing, and to different from European.

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## ON THE MARRIAGES OF THE

EGYPTIANS.

Marriage a church-ceremony among Christians, and indissoluble. The Legislature of Arabia, guided by custom, and on the authority of the Patriarchs, has permitted divorces, but has fixed bounds to the caprice of men. Marriage ceremonies observed by Mahometans and Copts.

To M. L. M.

(1 1 ac 5010 . II. 1) - I Grand Cairo.

MARRIAGE, among Christians, is a holy rite, and indissoluble. Laws, in certain cases, suspend, but do not annihilate its effects; wherefore, is is necessary the parties should perfectly know each other, and that their wills should be free, since their own happiness, and that of their children, depend on this knowledge, and this freedom. Oriental manners, so different from European, have obliged legislators to render wedlock a less permanent

permanent contract. Here the two fexes live feparate, and never converse together. How then can a young man and maiden, who have not feen each other, fwear inviolable . faith and love? Such an oath, exposing them to perjury, would but be a fource of diforder. Mahomet, well acquainted with the heart of man, and authorized by the Patriarchs, has permitted repudiation. After endeavouring to prevent it, by prescribing that respect, that tenderness, which ought to be the supreme pleasure of husband and wife, he adds, "Those who shall swear never " more to have commerce with their wives " shall wait four months (q), during which " if they return to them, the Lord is kind " and merciful.-If divorce be still determined " on, God fees and knows all things."

This, Sir, authorizes repudiation, but leaves God the judge of its lawfulness. In the continuation of this chapter, which is an abridgment of the laws of Mahomet, the

MARKET S

legislature

<sup>(</sup>q) When a Mahometan swears never more to know his wife, four months delay are granted him, during which he may reconcile himself to her, but if the time be past the must put her from him. She is free, and may marry another. Koran, chap. 2.

degillature endeavours to preferibe bounds to the fickleness of manco A mustillman may not take a wife without affigning her a portion, according to his fubitance. If he wishes to part from her, she fends for the judge, declares in his presence, the puts her from him. and, when the four months of probation are expired, he returns the wealth the brought, and the portion flipulated in the marriage contract. If they have children, the hufband detains the boys, and the wife takes away the girls; after which they become free, and may marry elfewhere. Wives are not fubjected, as is supposed in Europe, to eternal flavery; having real cause of complaint, they implore protection from the laws, and break their chains: but, in this case, they lose their portion, and the wealth they brought to the house of the husband, though they recover their liberty. of or desiderable is facilities

A Mahometan sometimes swears, without sufficient reason, never more to know his wife; but, repenting, he may be reconciled to her, without the mediation of the Cadi. The law-giver, in the following verse, has set bounds to this caprice. "He, who thrice "shall repudiate one woman, may not re-

" claim her, till she shall have been received " in the bed of another husband, who shall

" repudiate her also. They may then come

" together again, if they believe they can

" observe the commandments of God(r)."

A husband thus circumstanced, and who fears a separation himself has fought, endeavours to elude the law, feeks a friend, on whom he can rely, thuts him up with his wife, in the presence of witnesses, and waits the consequence of this singular scene, at the door. The dilemma is a delicate one, and does not always succeed as he could wish. If the friend, leaving the chamber, fays-" Behold my wife, whom I put away"the first husband recovers his right: but if, forgetting friendship in the arms of love, he declares her his wife, he takes her with him without opposition. By fuch laws has Mahomet endeavoured to enfure peace and happiness in marriage; making it a social state, the duration of which ought incessantly to be promoted, by reciprocal attentions, and the birth of children. Nor do the married often use the liberty they posses; divorces are much less common than they are

Vol. II. (r) Koran, chap. 2.

initially thought to be many are even fatisfied with one wife, and do not profit by the law which allows four. This moderation must be attributed to the separate and retired lives they lead, the charms of which they strongly feel, and, particularly, to the affection which both husband and wife have for their children, who, educated in the house of their fathers, become their support

The female relations make matches for the young mend They meet most of the maidens of the city at the bath, whom they perfectly describe; and, the choice made, the alliance is mentioned to the father of the female, the portion specified, and, if he consents, they make him presents out The parties agreedy the female relations and friends of the virgin take her to the bathy ftrip her with ceremony, bathe, knead, and perfume her, frain the nails of her hands and feet, of a golden yellow, with benha, blacken her eyeslids with copely sprinkle precious effences in her hair, and wash her whole body with rose water ... Without other ornament than their long and floating treffes, the matrons lead the moviciate round the apartment, -held

apartment, and prepare her for the mysteries of hymen, calm the palpitations of timidity, recount the happiness she will possess, and vaunt the beauty and wealth of her young husband. The remainder of the day is passed in feasting, dancing, and singing songe adapted to the occasion.

of On the morrow, the fame persons go to her chaufe, dear ther, as it were, violently, from the arms of her afflicted mother, and triumphantly conduct her to the house of her hufbander The procession usually begins in the evening dancers go before her, with their feet tied to stilts, and carrying balancing poles; numerous flaves display the effects, furniture, and jewels destined to her use I troops of dancing girls keep time with their influments; matrons, richly cloathed walk with a grave pace; and the young bride appears under a magnificent canopy. borne by four flaves, fuftained by her mother and fifters, and chtirely covered by a veil embroidered with gold, pearls, and diad monds wA long file of flambeaux illumine the procession, and the Almai, in chorus, occasionally fing verses in praise of the bride and bhidegroomisi Lahave twenty times bed

bas ...

held fuch pompous processions, in the streets of Cairo, where the longest route is always chosen; they being vain of displaying their whole splendour, on these occasions.

When come to the house of the husband, the women go on the first floor, whence they perceive, through the blinds of a gallery, all that passes below. The men, who are affembled in the hall, do not mix with them, but pass a part of the night in banquetting, drinking coffee and sherbet, and hearing mufic. The Almai descend, throw off their veils, and display their agility and address; exhibiting, to the found of the tambour de basque, cymbals and castanets, pantomimes in which they represent the combats of Hymen, the struggles of the bride, and the artifices of love. Nothing can exceed their voluptuous postures, and licentious attitudes; they want not words to make themselves understood; their unreserved gestures cannot be mistaken. Several times have I been prefent at such like scenes, and always surprised that a people, who, in public, respect women fo much, should so passionately love lascivious dances. Having ended, the Almai, in chorus, chaunt the epithalamium (fo

(so famous among the Greeks) and extol the allurements of the bride, more beauteous than the moon, fresher than the rose, sweeter than the jaimin, and the blis of that mortal who shall enjoy so many charms. During the ceremony, the feveral times paffes before the bridegroom, and always in different dreffes, to display her wealth and elegance. The guests having retired, the husband enters the nuptial chamber, the veil is removed, and, for the first time, he beholds his wife. If a maiden, tokens of virginity must appear; otherwise he may send her back, on the morrow, to her parents, which is the greatest dishonour a family can sustain; wherefore, there is no country on earth where girls are guarded with fuch care, or where the husband is more certain to espouse a virgin.

Such are the laws and ceremonies of marriage among the Egyptians, which rich and poor ferupulously observe. The daughter of the mechanic is, in like manner, conducted to her spouse; the only difference consists in the surrounding paraphernalia. Instead of slambeaux, they burn fir, in braziers carried on poles, and the stilt-dancers and tambour de basque, supply the want of Almai, and musicians. The poor man's daughter, wanting attendants and canopies, borrows a veil, and marches to the found of cymbals, or bits of metal, which her indigent followers strike in time, without tune.

Nearly the same ceremonies are observed by the Copts; but they have a custom of betrothing young girls only fix or feven years old, which is done by putting a ring on the finger. They often obtain permission, from her friends, to educate her, till she arrives at puberty. Divorces, bathing, and marriage processions, are also practised by the schifmatic Christians; only they can have but one wife at a time. You will find descriptions, in the Arabian Tales, much refembling those I have sent you: the author of that agreeable work, being perfectly acquainted with the manners and customs of his country, has ably depicted them; and, by the truth of his portraits, rendered his book inestimable. Failing in this, our Oriental romance writers offend most; and, having never travelled in the East, call the whims I H I

whims of fancy Oriental tales: Turks, Arabs, and Persians, are ridiculously differenced by the state of the s

Nearly the fame ceremonies are observed by the Copis, but they have a cuftom of betrothing young girls only hix or leven years old, which is done by putting a ring on the funger. They often obtain permission, from her friends, to educate her, till the arrives at puberty. Divorces, bathing, and marriage procedions, are also pradifed by the schifmatic Christians; only they can have but one wife at a time. You will find deferiptions, in the Arabian Tales, much refembling those I have sent you: the author of that agreeable work, being perfectly acquainted with the manners and cufloms of his country, has ably depicted them; and, by the truth of his portraits, rendered his book medimable. Failing in this, our Oriental romance writers offend most; and, having never travelled in the Eaft, call the whites LET-S 4

an age when all the courts of Europe hold commerce to be an inexhaushible source of

## wealth and IVX er. A H Tellred our to give you a hafty fketch of its revolutions.

## from the most remote antiquity to the prefer i His However and Received the take the thirty that may result to my country encou-

State of commerce under the Pharaohs, Perfians, and Ptolemies. Commerce created a
powerful navy under the Romans, and, directed by the Egyptians, penetrated to Bengal: become feeble under the monarchs of
the Lower Empire: was almost lost under
the Arabs: re-established by the Venetians,
who opened the ports of Egypt, but, losing
their trade, to the Portuguese, lost also their
shipping, and distant provinces. An account of the present commerce of Egypt.

## by water, during the mandation, with the charms of the com at MoT the delightful

viewories bhard ile, habituated the Egyptians

I Nothe preceding letters, Sir, I have mendit tioned some particulars relative to the traded of the principal cities of Egypt; but these scattered ideas would be unsatisfactory, sinds an age when all the courts of Europe hold commerce to be an inexhaustible source of wealth and power. I will endeavour to give you a hasty sketch of its revolutions, from the most remote antiquity to the prefent; and, however difficult the task, the utility that may result to my country encountries.

rages me in the undertaking.

The Pharaohs knew the benefits of commerce. The numerous canals they dug had a two-fold intent, that of spreading sertility and transporting the productions of the country throughout the kingdom. The fairs established in the Delta, and the Thebais. united the inhabitants of the diffant provinces. Each brought the fruit of his induffry, and, by mutual barter, the whole nation participated of the arts and agriculture. The necessity of going every where by water, during the inundation, with the charms of the cool air, and the delightful views of the Nile, habituated the Egyptians to the practice; and might lead us to suspect the first vessels, in which men ventured themfelves on the inconstant feat were built in Egypt. 11 Pleasure, I interest, and religion, those powerful motives to action, made them

row from one temple to another, and every where there were feafts, illuminations, and affemblies, where traders and wealthy people found their advantage bro The Egyptians, therefore, may be regarded as one of the most ancient sea-faring nations who sailed on the Red Sea. Long before the famous expedition of the argonauts, Danaus (s) carried into Greece the arts of navigation and trade. Sesostris, his brother, soon after, sent two armies, one by land, and the other by fea, to conquer Afia; and, while he subjected the inland states, a fleet of four hundred vessels took the sea ports of the Gulph of Arabia, passed the Straits of Babelmandel (t), and entered the Indian Ocean, where vessels so large had never been feen. This commerce in Egypt is more ancient than in Afia, nor has it ever ceased since those remote ages.

his conquests, one of which fortified themfelves on the coast of Phænicia. Tyre raised her ramparts, felled the cedars of Lebanon,

chanonda

cian, carried them into Greece.

<sup>(</sup>s) Herodotus.

<sup>(</sup>t) i. e. The gate of handkerchiefs, so named because Egypt has ever received through it the cotton cloths of which they make handkerchiefs, and which they still call Mandel.

to build ships, and began to dispute the glory of navigation with the mother country, sending ships to the pillars of Hercules, and every where extending arts and trade (u). The Egyptians, on their part, sailing up the Bosphorus, entered the Euxine, bartering with their brethren, settled in Colchis (x) the productions of their country for those of the North; while the sleets of the Red Sea brought the rich stuffs, persumes, pearls and diamonds of the East.

Become commercial, Egypt soon arrived at great power, and raised temples, obelisks, and colossal statues, which, when beheld, could not but be admired. The priests, by continually observing the heavens, taught seamen Astronomy, which guided them through the boundless deep. Wealthy at home, and mighty abroad, Egypt propagated trade and science, and, spreading agriculture

letters from the Egyptians, and transmitted them to the Greeks. In another place, he adds, Cadmus, the Phoenician, carried them into Greece, wherefore Herodotus calls the Greek characters Phoenician.

<sup>(</sup>x) Herodotus afferts Sefostris left a colony here, with which the Egyptians traded.

through the favage states of Greece, prepared them for civilization. Thus the hardy mariners of Europe, fent by Monarchs, the friends of humanity, reclaim from barbarism the islanders of the South Sea, by communicating our productions and our arts. The ferocious cannibal of New Zealand will cease to devour men, when sheep, cows, and corn have procured him plenty of food. Agriculture will establish society and laws, and they will enjoy the benefits of civilized nations. Their islands feem not to contain those precious metals which excite avarice; flavery, therefore, will not destroy, among them, the feeds of virtue. Like the Greeks, who deified their first benefactors, they will erect monuments to Louis XVI. and George III. These are actions which immortalize kings, and the remembrance of which is never loft to posterity. Enlightened by the great men who gained instruction in the schools of Memphis and Heliopolis, Greece was divided into feveral republics, each of which finall states endeavoured to obtain shipping and trade. Tyre continued to fend her veffels over the whole Mediterranean, and kings were adorned by her purple. Pfammetia dil tobotoH (schus

chus (y), the friend of the Greeks, opened the ports of Egypt to them; and Neches, his fon, attempted to form a communication between the Nile and the Red Sea; but the great obstacles he met, and the loss of a multitude of workmen, occasioned him to renounce the project. He formed another which proves how far the art of Navigation was carried. He equipped hips at Suez, gave the command of them to Phænician captains (2), and ordered them to coast Africa. These able seamen left the gulph of Arabia, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, returned northward, and, after three years navigation, arrived at the pillars of Hercules, whence they failed for Egypt. This was the first time this grand Continent had been coasted; but the difficulties of a voyage so long, when thips were obliged never to lose fight of shore, made them renounce it in future, contenting themselves to trade in the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean de Egypt had then the most powerful marine, and was the richest country on earth wover flates endeavourthese condeavourthese conde

Apries, fon of Nechos, in a naval combat, defeated the united fleets of Cyprus and Tyre,

were adorned by her purple suroborestrongeri-

enta(z) Herodot. lib. 4.

the two most famous maritime people in Emboldened by this fugcels, Amalis fent a fleet to conquer Cyprus, which taking, her there found abundance of wood, and stores, proper for building thips. A Become mafter of the Mediterranean, that he might strengthen commerce, he called the Greeks into his country, and permitted them to build Naucratis, near the canopic mouth of the Niled but, to prevent his new allies from becoming too numerous, he obliged their ships to unlade only late this city (a), which the established fairs, and continual arrival of veffels, rendered very commercial. Temples were erected here at the joint expence of the Ionians, Dorians, and Eolians, but, be their! magnificence what it might, they wanted the Egyptian folidity; in vain the traveller and Europe from the eniur night for base

The kingdom was now at the height of prosperity. The arts approached perfection. Astronomy calculated eclipses; Soulpture fashioned the hardest marble at its pleasure; precious stones were engraved; Mechanics raised enormous weights; and Chemistry stained glass, gave greater brilliancy ito

the

<sup>(</sup>a) Herodot. lib. 2. (6)

gems (b), and dyed with colours that were not to be effaced. Agriculture had enriched this country with the products of India, which it afterward presented to Greece, Italy and all Europe. And every time we behold bread, white as fnow, rice, peas, beans, and various other pulse, we ought to thank the Egyptians, who communicated those precious things to the Greeks, from whom they passed to the Romans, and, afterward, to the too numerous, he dobliged their thirsluso

When famine raged in heighbouring nations, they, like the fons of Jacob, came to Memphis for food Such were the advantages, in part, due to the commerce of the Pharaohs, who fent their fleets from the island of Taprobana, now Ceylon, to the ports of Spain. The polithed people of Africa and Europe from them received articles of utility, duxpry, and pleasure; band too the benefits of trade must were in part, attribute the admirable works of which they are the authors. | Never did nation possess such treas fures, cultivate arts and foiences with greater avdor, nor raife monuments for stately. The stuffs of Bengal, the gold dust which rolls in

<sup>(</sup>b) Plin. Hift. Nat.

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the torrents of Ethiopia, the pearls of Orners were brought to Memphis, become the most of Afia, cuft and well three no gitte afia, afi A to

Such was the flourishing flate of Egypt when invaded by Cambyles with innumerable hofts, Amafis, imprudently, difgusted the native military, by preferring Grecian troops, and a hundred and fifty thousand men abandi doned their country; by which defertion this fine kingdom, ceding to the Retfian, dwast ravaged with fire and fword. Intoxicated with victory, the ferocious conqueror destroyed the academies, and left barberien marks on the monuments, which fill remain. 1 After the loss of armies, in mad expeditions against the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and the Ethioto pians, he left troops in Egypta and returned to his kingdom. Commerce fuffered from these excesses, but the impulse had been given, and, though shackled, it still teonsinued its course. Darius, son of Hystaspes who knew its worth, restored its former vigour adand favoured it throughout his empire; he even withed to continue the canal Nechos had begun, and only receded from the falle opinion given him that the Red Sea was higher than the Mediterranean, and would overflow Egypt.

Egypt Scylan, by his command, descended the river Indus, examined the coasts of a part of Asia, east and west, and, after two years hav vigation returned to the ifthmus of Suezi The information he obtained determined the Perfiah king to invade India, where he made great conquests, by which the Egyptians profited; in extending their trade, repairing their loffes, and re-oftablishing their marine. Subservient to the ambition of this prince against the Greeks (c), they fapplied his army with provisions, affisted him in building the met morable bridge over the Borphorus, and, in the fea fight off the illand Eubea, leized five of the enemy's hips. Their valour and abilities as mariners were conflictious in the battles of Salamis and Mycale, but the love of liberty, inflaming the republics of Sparta and Athens, and the great men they produced, defeated the efforts of Afia and Africa, courfe. Darius, ion of ilitin right gariques

than the Meditertadil toborsH (Suld overflow

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the head of forty thousand men, overthrew the Satraps of Asia minor, vanquished the proud Tyre, who, had refused him for a mafter, and turned his arms against Egypt, which impatiently supported the Persian yoke, and, half way meeting Alexander, was conquered without a battle, Charmed with the reception he met from the Egyptians, and intoxicated by flattering hopes from the oracle of Ammon (d), he left them the same form of government, and the same religion. With a mind enlarged by the education a philofopher bestowed, and with views of universal empire, this prince wished not, in conquering, to deftroy, the world. To make his power fure in Egypt, the importance of which he knew, he founded a great city, with three harbours capable of containing the fleets of Greece, and the merchandize of all nations. He himself traced the plan of commerce which was to unite the feattered members of his vast states; but he was cut off in the flower of his age, and past over the earth like a torrent. His generals, dividing his spoils, became mighty monarchs. Ptolemy, fon of Lagus, obtaining Egypt, endeavoured reference the grand defigns of his master, invited the merchants of Syria and Greece to Alexander, and, by constantly protecting them, rendered his kingdom flourishing, which gave him the means of advantageously facing his foes, and conquering the isle of Cyprus. The Rhodians, his faithful allies, refusing to unite their fleets with those of Antigonus to attack Ptolemy, were besieged by Demetrius Polior-cetes; but, by the great succors they received, in corn and naval stores, from Ptolemy, they triumphed over this formidable warrior, and their gratitude bestowed the name of Soter, saviour, on their defender.

Amid the tumults of war, this first of the Ptolemies was zealous for the prosperity of his new kingdom. The low coasts of Egypt made the shores very dangerous, on which vessels often were wrecked before they were seen; he, therefore, built that stately tower on the isle of Pharos, which overlooks the ocean, and on which was inscribed, in large characters, To the protecting Gods for the benefit of navigators. The white marble made it visible by day-light, and it was lighted at night to direct the course of ships. All antiquity has praised

this magnificent works Thus the French shall bless the memory of a protesting king. who formed a mighty haven, amidft the waves; and, hereafter, beholding fquadrons in fafety, fecured by piers which an engineer of genius has marvelloufly constructed at Cherbourg posterity shall say where Louis XVIvenchained the waves of the deaned and - The havens of Alexandrias fituated to the west, north, and south, received the merchandize of the whole world, and the city became, as Strabo calls it, the greatest emporium on earth on Ptolemy did more, he established an academy, whose learned members went, by his command, to examine the various countries of the earth, their riches and productions of Thus, in the present rage, shave the French monarchs, imitating his examiple, fent academicians from the pole to the equator to ineafure the globe, and obtain knowledge beneficial to geography and navigation. The fort of Lagus, though in volved in war with the Kings of Syriant collected those manuscripts, ofrom valliparts, which composed the famous library the fate of which we weep! his monuments have been crafed, but his glory shall never perith, for Synch . 4

for while he drove the foe from his dominions, he laboured for the happinels of his who formed a mighty haven, amished

on Ptolemy Philadelphus followed his father's fleps, and rendered Egypt powerful and hapby. boThe pomp he displayed at coming to the crown proves the extensive commerce of the kingdom! le isw circumstantially deferibed by Athenaus: I must be more concifer The products of all climates were here affembled. Female flaves of Affa and Africay in the habits of their country, began the procession; camels loaded with incense, faffron, cinnamon, and precions aromatics, followed; a body of Ethiopians bore ebony wood, and four hundred elephants teeth; Abyffinians were loaded with gold duft, collected on the banks of their torrents; Indians displayed to the people the riches. pearls, and diamonds, their kingdoms produced; numbers of wild beafts were led by their keepers; the beauteous birds of Africa. the sheep of Abyssinia, Yemen, and Greece. the milk white oxen of India, the bears of the morth, deopards, panthers, dynxes, the camelopard, and the rhinoceros, followed in the train, 10 bjects fo various could only

to all nations among a people who traded

Ptolemy Philadelphus, better informed, or more fortunate, than Nechos and Darius, continued the canal between the Nile and the Red Sea, which work he had the glory to atchieve but began at the peluliac obranch, and was carried to Arlinoe, now Aggerout (e). Locks, constructed at its mouth, prevented a too hasty stream; and there were lakes, which supplied it, where boats might stop. History does not inform us how far, this canal was advantageous to commerce; but, as it was necessary to fail quite up the Arabian gulph, the far end of which is narrow and most dangerous, to come to it, Ptolemy opened another route for merchants, by founding a town which, after his mother, he named Berenice, on the shore of the Red Sea, in the latitude of Syene. From Cophtos to Berenice he constructed cisterns, and inns, where caravans might find refreshments amid the deferts. It was twelve days journey across burning sands, and Berenice was an

Ruyello:

<sup>(</sup>e) Aggerout is now two leagues from the port of Suez. Thus far the sea has retired since Ptolemy.

open shore, exposed to all winds, which ind convenience occasioned mariners to preser the port of the Rat, now Cosseir, where they found good anchorage, since when the trade of India has followed the road I before deciribed and bad and show storiky and bad

The Ptolemies kept up a formidable marine in the Red Sea and Mediterranean, to protect the Egyptian merchants. Theoritus (f) affirms they had ninety-feven firstrate ships, several of which were two hundred feet long, befide a multitude of small veffels, and four thousand barks to bear or ders throughout the empire. By fuch means, Profemy Philadelphus extended his conquests far into Ethiophia, and Yemen, and reigned over thirty-three thousand cities. These facts would appear incredible, were they not attefted by writers of good authority, and did we not know to what a degree of splendor commerce might raise a state, and the infinite resources an enlightened king might find, in the lituation of Egypt, bordering on two feas, and enjoying the treasures of an inexhaustible soil.

(f) Theocrit. Idyl. 17.

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Following

and Following the example of his predecedors, Ptolemy Evergetes founded his power on trade, to which he gave every encouragement, maintained the marine of the Red Sea, Subjugated several of the kings of the Homeritæ, who reigned in Arabia Felix, commanded them to guard the high roads, and effectually protected caravans from the Arabs The wealth of Egypt was at its utmost under his reign, and the abundance of gold and niches of fall, kinds were productive of excellive luxury in Alexandria, and corrupted the court of its kings. Most men are virtuous in mediocrity: misfortune elevates the mind and imparts energy, but excessive prosperity enervates; and by opening the flood-gates of vice, thuts those of happiness worth sords

The Ptolemies, enjoying supreme power, abandoned themselves to effeminacy, irresolution, and disorders which insected the morals of their subjects; for the corruption of kingdoms always begins with the great. The fourth of these princes, however, performed some good acts. At the entreaty of the Rhodians, he gave liberty to Andromachus, father of Achæus, sovereign of a part of Asia Minor, who had allied himself to the Byzantines

santines to exact tribute from all Thips par-Ting the finit of the Hellepont! In lettern for this benefit, Achieus tenounced his aldies, and they their protentions, and commerce, lagala unfettered, continued its affial beourfe. He, allo, kept up, and augmented, the marine his ancestors had breated. Under his reign were vessels of a size so enormous that they have never fince been equalled. Plutarch (g) describes one of his vessels with forty benches of rowers, three hundred and leventy-three feet long, and fixty-four high at the poop. This enormous thip, belide Which our three deckers would feel finall frigates, contained four hundred failors to work her, four thousand rowers, and about three thousand fighting men. The arts of Thip building and navigation must have been brought to great perfection among the Egyptians, who could build and work fuch immente veffels, that refembled floating towns. The reigns of the succeeding Prolemies prefent excess of luxury in the capital, and kings indulging in licentionshels; yet these -mos to estudies of the station of a part of Alia

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merce, fince, amidft unbounded expense, the country was rich and flourishings Ar fome moments, absorbed as they were in pleasure, they thought of its welfare. Prolemy Physicon fent Eudoxus, the Cyzicenian. ambassador, to various potentates of India, and the accounts this celebrated navigator brought added to the knowledge they had of those countries, and encreased the avidity of merchants, who undertook new expeditions to the East, and penetrated the Ganges as far as Bengal. After the king's death, his widow, Cleopatra, commanded Eudoxus to visit the nations at the extremity of Afria ca; and, failing from the Red Sea, he ard rived on the coast of Sofala! Finding the prow of a ship, he knew to be from Cadiz, on the shore, he formed the project of coasting this great continent. Returning to Egypt, he found Ptolemy Lathyrus on the throne, who did not love him, and attempted his meditated enterprize. Passing the straits of Babelmandel, he doubled the cape, and landed at the pillars of Hercules. This was the fecond time a voyage fo daring had been performed. It is easy to judge how difficult was the enterprize, how able and intrepid the

the mariners must be, and what obstacles and perils he was exposed to, in times when the compass directed not his course. It is easier, at present, to fail round the world.

The merchants of Alexandria, under Ptolemy IX. continued to navigate the Euxine, the Mediterranean, the Persian Gulph, and to the farthest Ind. Not to the good administration of the Egyptian monarchs was this extensive commerce indebted, but to lasting establishments; and, when not impeded, to the routine that long had been traced.

During the Alexandrian war, which Ptolemy XII. furtained against Cæsar, the latter burnt a hundred and ten large ships, and the Egyptians still had resources enabling them to equip a sleet, capable of facing the enemy. But who could withstand the genius of Cæsar! The efforts of the Alexandrians were insufficient, opposed to the conqueror of the Gauls. To a woman the glory of triumphing over this great man was reserved. Cleopatra subjected the conqueror, by charms irresistible. During the course of her life, this queen displayed magnificence and prodigality of which history contains not a se-

bassing enterprize, how able, and intrepid

cond example. Circl by Antony (b), then at Tarfus in Cilicia, to render an account of her conduct, the went to meet the Roman General! Passing the Mediterration, The failed up the Cydnus, in a vessel the description of which resembles what the poets give us of the fhell of Venus. The fails were purple, the proward fides of glittering gold; and the dars, which kept time with the fluu fie, were plated with filver and The Queen, reclining under a canopy, enriched with gold and inestimable gems, corresponded, in dress, to the splendor of her ship, a The richest robes, bedecked with pearls and diambilds, veiled, but did not concealy her charms! Like the Cytherean goddess, round her were numerous children, habited like capids, agid tating the air this new deity breathed; while clouding perfumes, inceffantly burnt, were wafted to the shores Antony, intending to punish Cleopatra, foon felt the power of her beauty mand, forgetting the judge, became the lover. Yet not to beauty alone was the Egyptian Queen indebted for victory. She had wit, and and cultivated understanding ;

(b) Plut. in Antonio.

knew

knew the Oriental languages to spoke the Greek, Ethiopic, Hebrew, Parthian, Syrias, and Persian, and conversed, in their own idia oms, with the various foreigners who inceffantly came to the port of Alexandria, that, after the fall of Carthago and Corinth, was become the emporium of the world (i) and contained three hundred thousand free people, with, at least, double the number of flaves. Cleopatra had yanquished Cafar and Antony, but in vain attempted Agustus, a cold and artful man , and, fearing to be led in tri+ umph by this pompous conqueror, the killed herfelf Egypt was then governed by the Romans, and was to Rome what Perushas been to Spain, and Bengal is to England i Supplying Italy with gold and silver in such abundance that provisions in merchandize, and lands, were doubled in value, thus haftening the ruin of the empire of act of bailsw

Robbed of their monarchs, and subject to the Romans, the Egyptians became their factors; the former ardently undertaking the commerce of India, the product of which according to Pliny, was a hundredfold, and

(i) Diod Sic. ib. (t)

knew

pursuing

pulling the Reps of their predecessors, fome, bentering the Indus, penetrated up the country; others, landing at the ifle of Ceylon, and others, doubling cape Comorin, proceeded up the Ganges as far as Palibothra (k), a mighty city, to which the Egyptians long had traded, and where was a vast concourse of Oriental nations. They brought back cotton-cloths, and filks, which Augustus first wore, after whom the Romans, fludying luxury, imagined perfumes, pearls, and diamonds, real wants: now that the mulberry tree and filkworm are transplanted into Europe, Ruffs, unknown to the Roman Confuls, are worn by men of all conditions. They have not yet, however, acquired the excellence of those of Bengal, or the durability of their colours; perhaps the small Indian colony, settled in France by an Admiral whose talents, virtues. and victories, honour his country, may difclose the secrets of the East to the French manufacturers. The sample all

In proportion as the Romans narrowed the limits of their empire, they adopted the

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to strict and (4) Strabo, lib. 15. Levilled griveine

vices and customs of the conquered people. Egypt was the kingdom that influenced their manners most, because it procured them most wealth. Fine linnen, and cotton-cloths, made at Alexandria, superb carpets, and variegated chrystals, were transported to Rome; while the abundant productions of the Thebais supplied the proud city with provisions. After this she had neither manufactures nor agriculture, and, in a few years, was furrounded by immense parks, and vast gardens; on the spots dictators had ploughed, where they had inhabited their ruftic mansions, delicious groves, cascades, parterres, and palaces were beheld. Afiatic effeminacy enervated the proud republicans. In vain did the wifest of their Emperors endeavour to refift the torrent; the masters of the world had tafted the charms of indolence; nations paid them tribute, Egypt gave them corn, and they imagined they had only to receive the labours of the conquered, and the earth's homage. Its expiring ray extinguished by Augustus, freedom gave place to slavery, and all its confequent vices. The Romans became less desirous of commanding than of enjoying festivals, and shows. The thirst of Malylock. gold

gold compleated corruption, all was venality at Rome; foldiers and armies were bought, and the pretorian bands fet the empire to fale.

To Byzantium Constantine transported the feat of empire, which foon became divided, and its destruction followed. The western fell first, because it wanted that wealth which agriculture and morality give, and which impart stability to kingdoms. Italy was a garden, and its inhabitants, funk in loxury, could not refiff the multitudinous barbarians. Egypt long was the support of the tottering throne of Constantinople, and, spite of the rigors fome of the emperors exercised over it. or of that destructive monopoly which is too often still renewed in great cities, it continued to be enriched by commerce, and furnished its fovereigns with refources against their numerous enemies. Cous, possessing the trade of India, flourished several ages, and became the rival of Alexandria. Its ships forgot not the way to Bengal, but brought the merchandize most in request. The time how ever, approached when the glory of Egypt, together with commerce, agriculture, and arts, was to decline to the spinor and as

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Mahomet,

Mahomet, possessed of a penius equal to revolutions to valt, created a religion for the nations of Arabia, feattered over the deferts. which was to arm them against the whole world. Emboldened by fuccels, he fent ambalfadors to the Emperors of Perlia, Constantinople, Abyssinia, and the governor of Memphis, to invite them to embrace Islamilin, or pay him tribute. History affords not another instance of a mission to audacious, and he must have been thought a madman, had not his genius supplied him with the means of maintaining an attempt thus daring. Travelling had taught him the feeblenels of neighbouring nations, and he knew warriors educated in his school might undertake, and execute, all things. The Greeks having affaffinated one of his ambaffadors, he armed three thousand men; which handful of foldiers, having traveried Arabia Deferta, where three generals appointed by the prophet perifhed, Khaled put himself at the head of the Arabs, and, by prodigies of valour, vanquifhed a hundred thousand Greeks. Thus encouraged, Mahomet departed, with tharty thoufand meh, and subjected the country as far as the frontiers of Syria. Death cut short t Vol. II.

his exploits, but his successors, animated by his example, and heated by the enthusiasm he had communicated, overthrew neighbouring nations, and conquered Egypt, and a part of the East, and a conquered the East, and a part of

Become a province, under the Calife, Egypt gradually loft its commerce and arts. The ferocious Amrou having burnt the maginificent library, collected by the Ptolemies. the learned fled to Constantinople and the Grecian Isles. The zeal of the first Maho metans not permitting them to hold alliance with Christian princes, they neglected the trade of the Mediterranean, mand confined themselves to that of the Red Sea, and inland commerce. Agriculture still flourished some of the Arab princes encouraged the sciences; and, at length, the Venetians gained admission into their posts, established confuls and, obtaining leave to fettle up the country carried on the trade of India under the protes tection of the Egyptians: hence they derived vaft advantages, and became the first mariners of Europe, which they supplied with all the productions of Afia and Africa of Fer dome time, the Genoese partook these benefits but the Venetian marine, rapidly increasing givig reigned

Daring from success, they profited by the rule of the Greeks to deprive the Ottomans of some scattered parts of their empire. Having seized the Morea, Candia, and several islands in the Archipelago, they sent their squadrons to the Dardanelles, and humbled Mahometan pride. They and their allies vanquished the whole naval power of the Tarks, at the battle of Lepanto. Enriched by the commerce of the Red Sea and India, this republic saved Italy, and, for two centuries, was the ballwark of Christendom.

when a valourous nation, excited by a prince learned in Geography and Astronomy, endeavoured to find a new passage to the Indies. Henry, brother of the King of Portugal, taught by History, knew Africa might be coasted; and, sitting out several vessels, assisted by the compass, discovered the Azore and Canary Islands. One of his captains proceeded to the cape that terminates Africa; being assailed by furious winds, he named it the temperatuous cape, and returned, but the prince changed the name to that of Good Hope. These attempts, long fruitless, must

give us a high idea of Egyptian navigation, fince they, twice, had performed the talk, without any guide, except the flars and their own genius. Valco de Gama, a Portuguele gentleman, at length, had the glory of doubling this famous cape; and, after landing on the coast of Malabar, returned triumphant to Lisbon. The precious stones he brought, and the pompous account he gave of the treasures of the Indian kings, enslamed the Portuguese, who, in a few years, conquered Cochin, Goa, and many other cities, whence they obtained immense riches.

Egypt was taken from the Arabs by the Turks, who, incited, and supplied with materials and wood for ship building, by the Venetians, fitted out a fleet on the Red Sea, and endeavoured to stop the Portugueze conquests, and drive them from their new establishments. Albuquerque, their governor, fought, gloriously, against the Turkish sleet, entered the Arabian gulph, took several ports, and determined to crush Egypt. Having made a treaty with the emperor of Abysishia, he engaged to turn the course of the Nile into the Red Sea. What horrors will not ambition impel men to commit! To insure

infure the exclusive commerce of India to his nation, this admiral would not have forupled to destroy four millions of souls, and reduce a kingdom to a desert. His letters lead us to believe the thing was practicable; but, happily for the Egyptians, death relieved them from the aspiring Albuquerque, and the emperor of Abyssinia dropped the infamous project, misoon apaged and bus infamous project.

While the Portuguese contended for the wealth of the East with Venetians and Egyptians, the Spaniards, led on by Columbus, had discovered America, and the new world was foon insufficient for their cupidity. The Lisbon mariners, following the track of Vafco de Gama, touched at the coast of Malabar, and proceeded to the Indian Archipelago; and the men of Cadiz went to the Moluccas. These rival people, failing nearly at the same time, and each traversing half the circumference of the globe, on its opposite sides, met in the middle. They divided the spoil, not without staining the land with their blood, and that of the wretched inhabitants of Celebes, whom, after reducing to flavery, they were equally eager to plunder. The aromatics, spices, gold अभीमा

gold and diamonds, with which they rei turned loaded rouled the courts of Europe from their lethargy, who had treated the grand projects of the immortal Columbus as dreams. England and France built hips. defirous to partake of these new discoveries. Hence we may date the decline of Venice. the foundation of whose power was the trade of Egypt and India, and the loss of which reduced her to all her former infignificance. The ruin of her marine followed that of her commerce, and prevented her from defending her diffant provinces. The Turks took the Morea, Candia, and the islands the possessed in the Archipelago, and the now has only a rock or two, which the Porte has left her because they are use fearcely dare venture over the Red Sear that

The maritime powers of Europe, at present, found their prosperity on commerce; and each is desirous the balance should be in its favour. Russia, too far north to send sleets to India, by the Cape of Good Hope, and enter in competition with nations more happily situated, has opened a route, known to the Romans and Genoese, sending her ships by the Volga to the Caspian Sea; and her

her merchants endeavour to obtain the products of Perfia, and the northern provinces of the Mogul. Already they trade in the rich filks of Ghilan, and Catherine II, will, no doubt d invade these wealthy territories, the first opportunity. England, France, and Holland, supply Europe with the products of India; especially the first, which, in Bengal, has formed a kingdom of vast extent, and become mistress of this trade, disputes the glory of navigation, with the whole earth-survey on a seremon and to test

of In her present state. Egypt, without arts on thipping, and groaning under the tyranny of her Beys cannot profit by her dituation to rival the Europeans. Her ignorant maripers of far from pavigating the Indian, scarcely dare venture over the Red Sea; their. greatest effort is their annual voyage to Moka, where their ill-armed faicks, incapable of defence, are laden with the coffee of Yes men, the mullips and cloths of Bengal, brought them by the Banyans, the perfumes of Arabia, and the pearls of the illes of Beharim. The coffee they buy for four-pence per pound, at Moka, they fell for fifteenpence, at Cairo; and this article, alone, amounts radence

amounts to half a million sterling. Most of it is sent to Constantinople, Greece, Mark seilles, and the coast of Syria; the rest they consume themselves would be trouber

The English attempted to rob them of this trade, but the Egyptians complained to government, and the former were powerfully opposed. Ali Bey having given fasety to the caravans, and opened the ports of Egypt to foreigners; fome English ships came to Suez, loaded with the stuffs of Bengal, for which they found a ready fale; but political views have prohibited this traffic, and it is possessed by the Egyptians for Yet what could they effect against the squadrons of Europe ? Soon or late, they must submit to receive. from frangers, the precious merchandize they dearly obtain from Moka, which will be supplied at a much cheaper rate a may foreigners might find means to obtain per-Mecca, where shert sidt no varra of position

Egypt, even in decline, might appear respectable among powerful nations, because
the contains, within herfelf, the true fource
of wealth. Her corn, with which the supplies Arabia, Syria, and a part of the Arechipolago, her rice, sent over the Mediter-

ranean

dancan has farius Maribilless ther carthamus flowers, with which the people of Provence annually boud feveral thiss, her lat ammoniac, transported through all Egypt, her abundant fouday her excellent flax, efteemed by the Italians, her blue clothe, that cloath in part the neighbouring nations, all are objefts that will make the balance of trade in her favour of The Abyfinians bring her gold duffyrelephants teeth, and other precious commodities, which they exchange for her productions! The cloths, lead, arms, and forme gold face from Lyons, which French fhips bring, do not equal what they receive; they pay the balance in Turkith piatres. The copper kitchen furniture, and furs, which the Turks fend to Alexandria, are far below the amount of the corn, rice, lentils, coffee, and perfumes they take back; most of which are paid for in ready money. Except Moka and Mecca, where the Egyptians annually leave a great part of their fequins, all who trade with them brings them filver and gold of So plentifubare thefe metals that Ali Bey, flying to Syriac carried with him three million and in half flerling grands finnel Bey escaping, some chippingo, her rice, fent over the Mediterranean

years after, loaded fifty camels with fequins, patacas (k), pearls, and jewellery. 2335, 101

If, destitute of shipping and manufactures, and reduced to the fold advantages of its foil, Egypt is still so wealthy, imagine, Sir, what the might be, governed by an enlightened people. What cloths might be fabricated from her fine wool, what linen from her flax, what mullins from the two species of cotton she produces, the one annual the other perennial; what filks from the worth which, here, if introduced, would thrive fo well in a climate that has neither rain nor tempests; what an influx of prosperity from opening her canals, repairing her mounds, and restoring to agriculture a third of the grounds buried under the fands; what wealth from opening her mines of emeralds, famous for almost equalling the diamond in duration; and from the granite, the porphyry, and the alabafter, which many of her mountains contain! With what utility might her indigo, carthamus, and other substances, excellent for dying, scattered through her deferts, be employed! These, Sir, are not.

LETTER

ehimerical

<sup>(</sup>k) A filver coin, worth five shillings.

chimerical riches Egypt has possessed them for ages: and a wife administration would restore all the prolific treasures of nature.

Thus, Single have bigiven and abstract of the viciflitudes nof vdommerce, if from the remotest to scheedpresent times; trande the fplendor it once enjoyed must impress the mind with wast ideas of what it might beflax, what muslins from the two spec.smoo cotton the producesy the one annual ish other perennial; what filks from the worm which. Let of to honor day well thrive to in a climate that has neither rain nor tempeds what an indux of profperity from opening her canals, repairing her mounds, and restoring to agriculture a third of the grounds buried under the fands; what wealth from opening her mines of emeralds, famous for almost equalting the diamond in duration, and from the granite, the porphyry, and the playafter, which many of her mounsains containd. With avhatrutility might her indigo, carthamus, and other substances, exsellent for dwing, eleattened through her deseries be employed! There, Sir, are not

LETTER

tinde (For fivor com worth five hallings, later the esteries which attonized, for the chimeric

ved the greaten benefits, or Medici I am by rurns, aftracted veneration

## LETTER INVIEW See

pravers, and credled his

knew of the phenomena of nature EGYPTIANS, AND, PARTICULARLY, ON ATHOR, ONE OF THEIR DELTIES

Athor, or Night, according to the Egyptian priests, was the symbol of the darkness of Chaos, before the creation, of which, animated by the breath of the Almighty, the world was formed. They afterwards beld the moon to be a type of this darkness, and introduced its worship. This idea they still farther extended to winter and summer.

## the deities they adored; as the fi images, in our tetMolel. M of the

faints, or God. Since the illanders RELIGION and Man were born together; he, placed on a globe where experience daily taught him his own feebleness. fought protectors from furrounding dangers; and she was the daughter of want and gratitude. Before he was bleffed by revelation, objects which aftonished, from which he received

ceived the greatest benefits, or dreaded most, by turns, attracted veneration. To rivers, feas, forms, and the fun, he addressed his prayers, and erected his altars. The less he knew of the phænomena of nature, the more he believed in hidden powers. All nations have adored, under different names, invifible spirits, either praying for protection, or deprecating wrath. Men enlightened by fublime philosophy, only, can behold him who prefides over the universe, or suppose a plurality of Gods absurd. Yet am I perfuaded writers, either prejudiced or fuperficial, have calumniated nations; by pretending they worship insensible stone, or despicable animals. The sculptured marble and the confecrated ox were but emblems of the deities they adored; as the statues, and images, in our temples, are but the symbols of faints, or God. Since the illanders of Otaheite, where civilization scarcely has begun, regard the bananas, and ammals, within their Mos rais, but as offerings to their Eatoon 119; why mould we imprehat the Egyptimes devel and the was the datighter of want and granoite | Lywish Spredities w Coffe Kennes de shute beful which aftonished, from which he received

shipped the onion and the crocodile (m)? No rational man can entertain an opinionfo unfounded. Could the people called the wife, who cultivated ference to fuecessfully, among whom Solon Tearned those laws he gave the Athenians, and Plate the immortant lity of the foul, adopt a worthip to abfurd?" No, Sir, the philosophers of Egypt nevel deified animals; nor did they ever, like the Greeks, raise heroes to the rank of gods! Aftronomy and the phanomena of hamie were the foundation of religion, they placed an invitible spirit above the flars, to whom they imputed the wondrous harmony of the universe. The vulgar, indeed, whose feeble fight beheld objects only, often adored the fymbol, instead of the deity. Will will endeavour to elucidate their religious doctrines, which the learned Jablonski has to well done before me; and, following his footsteps, add citations from the best authors of antiquity; for, in a matter to important, Theology differs little from that of Genetic,

muro).

<sup>(</sup>m) Herodotus, Strabo, Diodorus, Ælian, all mens we tion the holy animals of Egypt, but no where call them Gods, holding them, on the contrasy, to be living types of the deities to which they were confectated believed.

we must leave nothing to fancy, conjecture,

One of the most antient of the Egyptian deities was Athor; which, in the Coptic, fignifies Night (1). The priests, by this word, did not mean that privation of light which fucceeds fun-fet , but the darkness of . Chaos, before creation; of which, animating it by his breath, God made all creatures. In their opinion, this mysterious night was the origin of things, Damafius (0), speaking of antient Egyptian Theology, fays, " they " held Darkness to be the first principle, " which human reason might not compre-" hend, and which they thrice celebrated "in their facred hymns." Sanchoniathon, embued with this doctrine, fays, " from the " wind Kolpia, and his wife Baaou, were " mortals created (p)." Kolpla is a Hebrew word, which fignifies the breath of God; and Basou the void. Thus the Creator's voice called being from non-entity; and this . Theology differs little from that of Genefis, which fays, "And the earth was without poet, attantions of Egypt, but no where cell thems !-

<sup>(</sup>a) Jablonski. Pantheon Ægyptiacum. Tom. I.

<sup>(0)</sup> As cited by Cudworth and the date of the control of the contro

<sup>(</sup>p) Jablonifki, tom T. Line A ni wast and (r)

er form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep, and the spirit of God moved " (brooded) upon the face of the waters (q)." Simplicius (r) pretends, " that the words, s and God called the light day, and the darkness night, were taken from Egyptian But, granting Moses to have of fables." learned this doctrine from the priests of Memphis, having freed it from the abfurdities in which it was enveloped, it is not the less divine. This antient people, descendants of Misraim, grandson of Noah, might, like the Israelites, have received the light of Revelation from their common father; and, if they have obscured its pure flame, the leader of the Hebrews has restored its lustre.

Orpheus, initiated in the Egyptian mysteries, first brought their religious opinions into Greece, and sung them in harmonious werse. "In the beginning," says he, "Ether "was created by God, and from his bosom came Chaos, and dark Night, which spread over all below Ether." In the dialogue between Jupiter and Night, the poet, assuming his right, personisies the lat-

(9) Genefis, I. 3.

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<sup>(</sup>r) Comment in Aristotel Physic. lib. 8.

ter, and makes the Creator thus speak (s).
"Nurse of the Gods, immortal Night."

"How must I wisely proceed in creating the "immortal Gode? How form the Universe

into one whole, where each thing shall sepa-

" rately exist?" Night replies "Encompass" Creation with the immense Ether; place

the Heavens in the centre, and under the

"Heavens the earth, furrounded by the fea,

The Greeks eagerly received the religion Orpheus fung, glowing with the primitive ideas which the antient Egyptians entertained on the origin of things. Philosophers spread a veil over it, impenetrable to the vulgaris and poets, personifying the elements, compassed a fabulous Theogony. Thus enveloped, thus conceased, it was difficult to perceive truth. The religious opinions of Egypt long were preserved in the temples of Greece. Pansanias, vifiting the country, saw, at Megara, the Oracle of Night, and, in the temple of Diana, at Ephenis, the Sanchuary of Night; where, probably, all that related to Athor was taught.

(s) Vide Eschenbach (s) (s) Vot. II. X

This symbolical Deity, by which the Egyptians represented the passive principle of things, became, in the language of the Greek philosophers, Venus, or the mother of the world. Orpheus, likewise, taught them this allegory (t). "Night, the mother" of Gods and men, I sing. Night, the "origin of all created beings, by us named "Venus." The poets pursued this metaphysical idea, and, wanting a deity that might embellish their songs, they derived her from the soam of the sea; first in Beauty, and Goddess of Pleasure, she animated the world, she gave life to all. Ovid celebrates her power in these allegorical verses (u).

Illa quidem totum dignissima temperat orbem:

Illa tenet nullo regna minora Deo:

Juraque dat cælo, terræ, natalibus undis;

Perque suos initus continet omne genus.

Illa Déos omnes (longum enumerare) creavit:

Illa satis caussas arborlbusque dedit.

The Egyptian priests, describing Night as the Deity from whose bosom the Eternal had drawn all creatures, knowing the vulgar

<sup>(</sup>t) Jablonski, tom. I.

<sup>(</sup>u) Ovid. Fast. lib. 4.

must have sensible objects, led them to adore the Moon, reigning in darkness. They, no doubt, at first, held this planet to be but an emblem of Night, and divine power; but, as the symbol often obscures the Deity, the people prayed to the Moon, and to her erected their altars.

Philosophers still understood the doctrine; and, by Night, Athor, and Venus, meant that season when the sun, having passed the equator, remains in the auftral hemisphere; the days then being shorter, and the nights longer. " Philosophers (x) have honoured " the upper hemisphere with the name of "Venus, and the lower with that of Profer-" pine. The Affyrians and Phœnicians repre-" fent this goddess in tears, because the sun, " passing through the signs of the Zodiac, enters the auftral hemisphere, where, so long " as he remains, the days are shorter, and " Venus is feigned to weep the absence of the " god, dead for a time, and detained by Pro-" serpine. Her statue is on Mount Lebanon " (the celebrated Venus Aphacitis) veiled, and " with a forrowful countenance. The statue,

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<sup>(</sup>x) Macrob. lib. I. cap. 21.

" beside representing the grief of the goddess, " is also the symbol of Winter."

The following passage demonstrates this opinion came from Egypt (y). "In the "month of Athyr (z) the Egyptians say "Osiris (the sun) is dead; nights then are longer, darkness increases, and his power is diminished. The priests perform gloomy ceremonies, and shew the people a gilded ox, covered with a black veil (or pall) signifying the grief of the goddess Isis, or the "Moon." In Egypt, the ox is a symbol of

Thus, the Egyptian Athor first signified that mysterious Night which was over chaos, before the creation; afterward the Moon; and, lastly, Winter; by this analogy, the Orientals, Greeks and Romans, have named Athor Venus the Queen of the World, and the Mother of Delights. The doctrine is the same, though its form be changed; passing from one nation to another, and from the lips of philosophers to poets.

and the district of

Ofiris, and the earth.

Temples

<sup>(</sup>y) Plut. de Iside et Osiride.

<sup>(2)</sup> Athyr, the name of a month. The Egyptians call Venus, Athor, after whom they name the third month of their year. Orion the grammarian.

Temples were dedicated to Athor, in Egypt. Herodotus, who gives the names of many remarkable places there, mentions Athar-Beki, the city of Athor, which Strabo (a), and Diodorus Siculus (b), translate Aphroditopolis; the city of Venus. Ælian (c), speaking of a town in the Hermopolitan Nomos, says, "Here they worship "Venus, and pay peculiar adoration to the " cow." The same author informs us Isis, or the Moon, was represented with the horns of a cow. Thus this animal was the emblem of the Moon; and the black veil, with which it was covered during winter, could only fignify to the people the decrease of day, and the grief of Isis; though, certainly, to the priests, it meant the darkness of chaos before creation. In the map of Egypt, you will find three towns, which the Greek geographers have named Aphroditopolis, but which the natives call Athar-Beki.

Such is the small information, Sir, we may collect, from the fragments the antients

<sup>(</sup>a) Strabo, lib. 17.

<sup>(</sup>b) Diod. Sic. lib. 1.

<sup>(</sup>c) Ælian. De Nat. Animal. lib. 11.

have left us, relative to the religious opinions of the Egyptians concerning Athor. Had not their books perished with the Ptolemæan Library, did not their hieroglyphics conceal the knowledge they transmitted to posterity, we, no doubt, should find, among a people so learned, and so near the origin of human nature, ideas more clear and satisfactory; but let us enjoy what remains, and endeavour, somewhat, to pervade the mysteries of their religion.

I have the honour to be, &c.

## LETTER XVIII.

OF PHTHA, NEITH, AND CNEPH.

The Egyptians adored the Supreme Being under the names Phtha, Neith, and Cneph; attributes, signifying his power, wisdom, and goodness. The temple of Phtha, at Memphis, of Neith, at Sais, and of Cneph, in the island of Elephantina. The pure worship preserved only by the Priests, and initiated; the Vulgar forgot the Creator in his works.

## To M. L. M.

Grand Cairo.

I HAVE spoken, Sir, of Athor, and the dark Abyss. But the Chaos of the Greek and Latin poets could produce nothing of itself; the Egyptian philosophers acknowledge the Spirit which thence formed the Universe, and established that still unalterable order; which Spirit they called Phtha, Ordainer (d).

(d) La Croix, Trefor Epistolaire, liv. 3. Jablonski, tom. I. says Phtha, in Coptic, signifies Ordainer of Things.

X 4

it will be

Jam-

Jamblichus (e) informs us the Egyptians called that efficient spirit, which does all things with truth and wisdom, Phtha; and the Greeks Vulcan, only confidering the art with which it produces. This spirit, to which they affign the highest rank, they say, gave chaos first the form of an egg, and, from that, afterward, created all things. Thales, the Milesian, taught by the priests of Memphis, fays (f), "Water is the prin-" ciple of all things, and God the spirit " which has formed the universe from this "humid principle." The verse of Genefis (g) " and the spirit of God moved " (brooded) upon the face of the waters," is very correspondent to the Egyptian doctrine of the creation. We may naturally suppose Moses, educated in the court of Pharaoh, there obtained a part of this knowledge, and, afterward, disencumbered truth of mystery and fable. The Egyptians, that they might give the Creator a fenfible form, attributed two fexes to him; that is, they acknowledged a power refident in him

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<sup>(</sup>e) De Mysteriis, sect. 8.

<sup>(</sup>f) Cic. de Nat. Deorum. lib. 4.

<sup>(</sup>g) Chap. i. ver. 2.

which could produce without the affiftance of any other being. Synefius, full of this ancient theology, speaking of him, says, " The father, mother, male, and female, " art thou (b)."

On the obelifk of granite, transported from Egypt to Rome, among the hieroglyphics, interpretated by Hermapion, is the following remarkable passage, relative to Ramestes, king of Heliopolis (i). "Him hath " Phtha, father of the gods, chosen." The words, father of the gods, meant the stars, which the fages of Egypt held to be the most striking emblems of the deity, and which the people really adored. In the time of Herodotus (k), fire, water, earth, heaven, the fun, moon, day, and night, had divine honours paid them, but were only the gods of the vulgar; the initiated had another faith, and acknowledged the author of nature, only, who drew all creatures from non-entity,

The first dynasty of Manetho includes the reign of the gods in Egypt (1), at the head

<sup>(</sup>b) Hymn III,

<sup>(</sup>i) Ammian. Marcellin. lib. 17.

<sup>(</sup>k) Herod. lib. 2.

<sup>(!)</sup> Manetho apud Syncellum.

of whom is Phtha, or Vulcan, and, after him, the fun, his fon, which passage, understood allegorically, is not contrary to found theology. The fun, the work of the Creator, may be confidered as his fon, and the Egyptians, to ennoble their origin, worshipped the Creator as the first of their kings. To each of these material gods Manetho asfigns a certain length of reign; which we must understand as solar and lunar cycles, invented by astronomers (m). This dynasty proves Phtha antecedent to time, the course of which was regulated, when men studied the heavens, by the regular fuccession of these visible deities. The Egyptian priest positively declares (n), "No determinate " epocha can be fixed to Phtha, because he " shines as well in darkness as in day." The stars appear and disappear, their empire had a beginning, therefore is not eternal. But the invisible spirit was before time; his power shines, everlastingly, in his works, and his reign is immutable.

In the fanctuaries of their temples the Egyptian priests secluded this sublime doc-

<sup>(</sup>m) Vide\_Vignoles, tom. II.

<sup>(\*)</sup> M aneth, apud Syncell.

trine, either transmitted by the first men or imagined by their own genius; as by Abraham, from the efforts of reason, and the study of astronomy (c). Having enveloped them in allegories which themselves, only, could unfold, they left the people in total ignorance, savoured their idolatry, and, at the death of each individual, thus prayed:

"O Sun, and ye other gods, who bestow life, receive me; restore me to the eternal deities, that I may dwell with them (p)."

The Greeks pretend that, according to the Egyptians, Phtha was only the most pure and subtle fire, above the ether, whence souls came to animate bodies; wherefore they named him Vulcan, who presided over that element. "The sages of Egypt," says Servius (q), "embalmed, in order to pre-

<sup>(</sup>a) Clemens Alexandrinus affirms Abraham attained the knowledge of one God by the study of astronomy, which appears to be the opinion of the Arabs. Mahomet, having collected their traditions, represents the patriarch of the faithful looking to the heavens, and, after observing, with amazement, the appearance and disappearance of sun, moon, and stars, which he, at first, had supposed divinities, he exclaims, "I will not worship gods that rise and "set."

<sup>(</sup>p) Porphyr. lib. 6.

<sup>(</sup>q) Serv. Comment. in Æneid. lib. 3.

" ferve bodies; and that their fouls, re-" maining longer, might not quit them to " animate others; the Romans, on the con-" trary, immediately burn them, that they " may return to their primitive nature." Herodotus (r) supposes this metempsychosis came first from Egypt. If these authors may be credited, the Egyptians held Phtha, or the Upper Ether, to be the being which fuccessively gave life to the universe. The Platonists and Pythagoreans held the same belief, and that the foul, immortal in its nature, leaving the body, returned to the foul of the world, whence it first came (s). These are the opinions of the Greeks; who, no doubt, disfigured the religion of Egypt, by mingling their own metaphyfical reveries. What I have cited, in a former part of this letter, proves Phtha was anciently regarded as the ordaining spirit, the grand architect of the universe; he was principally adored at Memphis, where he had a temple (t);

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(s) Plutarch de placitis philosoph. lib. 4.

<sup>(</sup>r) Lib. 2.

<sup>(</sup>t) Described by Herodotus and Diodorus. Suidas adds the people of Memphis adored Vulcan by the name of Phtha.

but, as I have said, the worship of visible deities prevailed with the people over that of the Supreme Being, to whom the priests only offered incense.

Phtha must not be separated from that god of the Egyptians which, also, was the creating spirit: Neith signifies the disposer of all things (u). The first fignified God taken in a general fense; the second, more particularly, characterised his wisdom. Neith was worshipped chiefly at Sais, a city of the Delta, where the priests had a famous college. Plato (x), who had frequented it, thus speaks. "Sais, the capital of its dif-" trict, is a confiderable city, of which " Amasis was king. Neith, the Minerva " (Adin) of the Greeks, is the titular divi-" nity." The following inscription, engraved in hieroglyphics, was on the door of the temple, and imports the fublime idea they had conceived of Neith (y). I am what is, what was, what shall be; mortal has

<sup>(</sup>u) Jablonski, tom. I.

<sup>(</sup>x) Plato in Timæo.

<sup>(</sup>y) Proclus cites this inscription, in his learned commentary on the Timzus of Plato; Plutarch in his Isis and Osiris.

never raifed up my tunic (veil): the sun is the fruit of my womb. This definition only can agree with God; who, self-existent, has neither beginning nor end, and includes in himself the past, present, and to come (z). This incomprehensible spirit conceals himself from man, who cannot raise up the veil. These words, "the sun is the fruit of my womb," clearly demonstrate Neith and Phtha to be the same. Manetho, also, affirms, in a sigurative sense, Phtha is the father of the sun. The Phænicians, who received their religion and knowledge from their Egyptian brethren, also acknowledge Minerva, or Neith, for the author of nature (a).

The priests of Egypt more particularly adored, in Neith, the divine wisdom which guides the world, and enlightens men, and made her the protector of the arts. The warrior wore on his finger a ring, on which

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<sup>(</sup>z) Man may be confidered as the image of God, in certain respects; including, in himself, the past, present, and to come: the remembrance of what he was, is, and hopes to be, makes him enjoy, at the same time, these three modes of being. The Creator has, therefore, said, in Genesis, "Let us make man in our image."

<sup>(</sup>a) Julian. Orat. 4.

the scarabæus was engraved; the reason of which we learn from Horapollo (b). " The " Egyptians pretend the world is composed " of male and female parts, and paint a sca-" rab to represent Minerva (c)." ring, worn by foldiers, was a token of the homage they paid the deity whose emblem they bore, and who disposed of the fate of battles. Psammenitus (d), instructed by Neith, declared kings were under the protection of God, and from him derived their knowledge.

Cadmus, the Phænician, was the first who carried this worship into Greece, and gave the name of Neith (e) to one of the gates of the Grecian Thebes. Egyptian theology was taught here, with which the poets foon mingled their charming allegories. Neith, their Pallas, rose, armed, from the brain of Jupiter, and was celebrated by them

<sup>(</sup>b) Horapoll. Hieroglyph. lib. 1. [This is a disputed passage. T.]

<sup>(</sup>c) I before faid the Egyptians, fenfibly to mark the productive power of God, have painted the two sexes, and, as they ascribe both sexes to the scarab, they made that the (d) Jablonski, tom I. emblem of Neith.

as the goddess of battles, and of arts. Philosophers, still, saw truth through the obscuring veil; but not so the people, who worshipped a fabulous deity.

"Egyptian. She was feated; wherefore the Egyptians represent Minerva seated (f)." They meant, no doubt, by this attitude, to remind men she had taught them arts, and that from her they derived their knowledge. The Greeks, ever imitating them, engraved, painted, and sculptured, Minerva seated (g).

After adoring the power of the Creator in Phtha, and his wisdom in Neith, the Egyptians worshipped his goodness under the name of Cneph, or the greatest good (b). "The priests of Egypt called Cneph the Architect of the Universe (i)." Strabo mentions a temple of this deity, in the isle of Elephantina, which temple still subsists, as described in Letter XIII. vol. I. The symbol of this god was a serpent, according to Eusebius. "The serpent, within a circle,

<sup>(</sup>f) Eustath. in Iliad. I.

<sup>(</sup>g) Strabo, lib. 13.

<sup>(</sup>b) Jablonski, tom. I.

<sup>(</sup>i) Eusebius de Præp. Evangel. lib. 3.

" touching it at the two opposite points of its circumference, signifies the good Genius." A particular species of serpent was chosen (k). "There are sacred serpents, near "Thebes, which are harnless (!), having "two horns on the top of the head; when they die they are buried in the temple of "Jupiter." The name of Cneph (m), or good genius, was bestowed on it, as well as the divinity it represented, and the people's veneration, perhaps, went no farther than the serpent. "I one day saw two men, "in Egypt, contesting," one having per"ceived a serpent, called it Agathedaimon, "(Ayaθοδαιμον) and struggled to get it (n)."

The good genius of the Greeks and Romans must not be confounded with that of the Egyptians; the first understanding by this title an intermediate order, between divine and human; the latter, the benisicence of him who presides over heaven and earth,

<sup>(</sup>k) Herod. lib. 2.

<sup>(1)</sup> These serpents, honoured by the name of Haridi, still are famous, as treated by the priests of Achmim.

<sup>(</sup>m) The Phænicians call the ferpent, Good Genius, for the fame reason the Egyptians name it Cneph.

<sup>(</sup>n) Plut. de Iside & Osiride.

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and whose will directs the flars through the immensity of space.

These are the religious opinions of the Egyptians concerning Phtha, Neith, and Cneph, three attributes of the same god, characterizing his wisdom, power, and goodness. The worship was gradually lost, or remained concealed in the temples; and the people, deceived by their priests, who gave them only symbols, or incapable of conceiving an infinite spirit, which every where marks his presence, yet every where escapes our senses, honoured his works, to which they addressed their offerings and prayers.

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### LETTER XIX.

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#### ON THE VISIBLE DEITIES OF EGYPT.

The Egyptians first adored the sun, under its proper name, Phra; and, afterward, under that of Osiris. This god became very famous, had temples, and sacrifices, throughout Egypt; which originated with astronomers, who measured time by the course of the sun, more regular than that of the moon. The word Osiris, derived from Osh Iri, author of time, denotes the reason the priests had for creating this allegoric deity.

## To M. L. M.

ortgoth of the agree of the control Grand Cairo.

"THE ancient Egyptians, contemplating "the vaulted heavens, and admiring the marvellous order of the universe, held the fun and moon to be eternal deities, and paid them particular adoration; naming Y 2 "the

" the one Osiris, and the other Isis (o)." This affertion is too general: it ought, to make it more conformable to truth, to have excepted the kings, the initiated, and, particularly, the priefts, who did not believe that idolatry they taught the people; nay, it is reasonable to suppose, their first doctrine was that these luminous bodies were the work of God. Be this as it may, the Egyptians, from the remotest times, have adored the fun and moon, under the titles of the King and Queen of Heaven (p). The fun was first called Phra (q). The father-in-Taw of the patriarch Joseph was named, according to the septuagint, Petephra, Priest of the Sun. Astronomers, observing its course and principal effects, gave it the symbolical name of Ofiris, which religion fanctified. "It is known that Ofiris is only the " fun: when the Egyptians describe it, in " their hieroglyphics, they paint a sceptre " and an eye (r)." They could not better pourtray this luminary, to which they attri-

<sup>(</sup>o) Died. Sicul. lib. 1.

<sup>(</sup>p) Jeremiah, chapters 7. and 44.

<sup>(</sup>q) Jablonski, tom. r.

<sup>(</sup>r) Macrob. Saturnal. lib. 1. . . . . . di.bing

bated the empire of Heaven. Thus Martianus Capella (s), in his fine hymn, fays, " Eye of the world, bright Olympian torch; " Latium calls thee Sun; because, after " thy author, thou art the fource of light. " The Nile names thee Scrapis: and Mem-" phis, adoring Ofiris, adores thee." Some authors, also, have called the Nile Ofiris. Plutarch gives the reason. "The Egyp-" tians hold the Nile to be the preserver " of their country, and that it draws its " fource from Ofiris (t)." The vapours, raised by the sun, and condensed in the atmosphere, fall in rain, and form the great river that gives wealth to Egypt. In this fense, Homer calls it the stream of Jupiter (u). The Egyptians, fays Herodotus (x), pretend that Ofiris and Bacchus are the fame; which opinion has been espoused by many of the Greeks, and is not impro-The Egyptians made Ofiris travel bable. from one end of the world to the other, deferibed him as the king who had conquered

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<sup>(5)</sup> Lib. 2. And out doing store A

<sup>(†)</sup> Plut. de Iside et Osiride.

<sup>(</sup>u) Jupiter and the fun, or Ofiris, are the fame.

<sup>(</sup>x) Lib. 2.

the world, and heaped bleffings on man. The Greeks, attributing fimilar gifts and conquests to Bacchus, have faid he was Ofiris; however, in the facred language of Egypt, these travels only meant the course of the fun, and the good he did men, which allegories have always been customary among the Orientals. Thus the Psalmist (2) " He " hath fet a tabernacle for the fun, which " is a bridegroom coming out of his cham-" ber, and rejoiceth as a strong man to run " a race. His going forth is from the end " of Heaven, and his circuit unto the ends " of it: and there is nothing hid from the " heat thereof." Tibullus has literally given the opinions of the Greeks in graceful and harmonious verse (a):

Primus aratra manu folerti fecit Osiris,
Et teneram ferro sollicitavit humum.
Primus inexpertæ commisit semina terræ,
Pomaque non notis legit ab arboribus.
Hic docuit teneram palis adjungere vitem:
Hic viridem durâ cædere salce comam.

A trait, which the best authors of antiquity give, evidently demonstrates the Greeks

<sup>(</sup>z) Pfalm xix.

<sup>(</sup>a) Tibull. lib. 1. eleg. 8.

were wrong in wishing to establish a perfect fimilitude between Bacchus and Ofiris. The first was honoured as the author of the vine: but the Egyptians, far from attributing its culture to Ofiris, held wive in abhorrence. " The Egyptians (b) never drank wine, be-" fore Pfammetichus (c); holding this li-" quor to be the blood of the giants, who, " having made war on the gods, had pe-" rished in battle, and that the vine sprang " from the earth mingled with their blood: " nor did they offer it in libations, thinking "it odious to the gods." This facred fable passed from Egypt to Persia, and Clemens Alexandrinus (d) tells us, the Magi most carefully abstained from wine. There was a law which forbad its ufe among the Arabs (e), and Ovington (f) affirms that the Bramins, at present, detest the liquor, and hold it in equal horror with Manes, who

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<sup>(</sup>b) Plutarch de Iside et Osiride.

<sup>(</sup>c) One of the last of the Egyptian Pharaohs.

<sup>(</sup>d) Strom. 3. refered to de legal conde and less

<sup>(</sup>e) Diod. Sic. lib 1.

<sup>(</sup>f) Ovington's Travels, vol. 1.

supposed it the blood of damons. Whence this Oriental aversion for wine originated would be difficult to fay, but exist it did, which, probably, was one reason why it was forbidden by Mahomet (g). Perhaps we should feek for the cause in the curse of Noah, pronounced upon Ham, who infulted his father, finding him drunk. But, whether or no, the Egyptians detefted it, and could not attribute the culture of the vine to Ofiris. and the colored by the soft mon to

But what does this name mean? And why given to the fun? This question has excited the researches of the ancients and moderns. which they have laboured to refolve. Diodorus (b) and Horapollo (i) fay Ofiris fignifies Πολυοφθαλμος, many-eyed; which interpretation might apply to the fun, but will not explain the word Ofiris; for, though Os or Ofb means much, in Egyptian, Iris has no relation to the eye. " The name of Ofi-" ris (k) means many things, and may be

(c) One of the last of the Residen Pharacky.

<sup>(</sup>g) Wine is an abomination of the devil. Koran.

<sup>(</sup>h) Lib. 1.

<sup>(</sup>i) Hieroglyph. lib; In Co. dover T a dove 100

<sup>(</sup>k) Plut. de Iside et Ofiride,

<sup>&</sup>quot; interpreted

"interpreted many ways. It expresses ef-" ficacious power, and benevolence." This, still, is not the literal fense. The learned Jablonski (1) interprets the word more naturally. " Ofiris comes from Ofh Iri, He who " makes time." The Egyptians understand the same by this expression, as God, speaking of the Sun and Moon (m), " Let there be " lights in the firmament of the Heaven, " to divide the day from the night: and let " them be for figns, and for feafons, and for " days, and years." The following paffage favours this opinion. " The Egyptians paint " the Sun borne in a ship, or on a crocodile; \* which, emblematically, fignifies that the " Sun, traverfing the mild and humid air, "begets time (n)." emmonante out la triqu

of Egypt regulated the year by the course of the sun. The great golden circle, of three hundred and fixty-five cubits, which they placed over the tomb of Osymandyas, and

<sup>(1)</sup> Tom. I.

<sup>(</sup>m) Genefis, I. 14. . . dil Jennand dermit (

<sup>(</sup>n) Clem. Alexand. apud Euseb. de Prep. Evan. lib. 3.

on which the rifing and fetting of the stars, for each day in the year, were described, is a clear proof of their labours and discoveries. "The priests of Thebes principally applied " themselves to Astronomy and Philosophy, s and measured time by the Sun, and not " by the Moon (o)." Julius Cafar, who paffed a year among them, and was instructed in their learning, reformed the Roman calendar, which was very defective. " This or prince, imitating the Egyptians, the only " people perfectly informed of divine things, " calculated the year from the progress of " the Sun, which ends his revolution in " three hundred and fixty-five days, and fix " hours (p)." The fame author, in the spirit of the astronomers, holds the measurement of the year to be the principal use of the Sun. The folar year was found by the academy of Heliopolis, under the reign of Aseth (q), 1325 years before Christ, and 320 after the departure of the Israelites: the

<sup>(</sup>c) Strabo, lib. 17.

<sup>(</sup>p) Macrob. Saturnal. lib. 1.

<sup>(</sup>q) Vignoles Chronologie, tom. 1.

priests who, till then, had honoured the Sun under his proper name Phra, in memory of this important event bestowed that of Ohris. or Author of Time. TO JUNEAU CHEV.

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### LETTER XX. Tradem such

AMMON AND HERCULES EMBLEMS OF

Amoun, whence the Greeks derived Ammon, and the Latins Jupiter Ammon, particularly adored at Thebes, which is called in Scripture the city of Ammon, and by the Greeks Diofpolis, the city of Jupiter. The statue covered by the skin and head of a ram. This Deity, typifying the vernal Sun, uttered oracles, in a temple built in the Lybian deserts. The statue of Hercules, worshipped with Ammon, at the vernal equinox, signified the strength of the Sun at this season.

#### To M. L. M.

Grand Cairo.

THE Egyptians, applying themselves to the study of Astronomy, perceived the aspect of the Sun varied according to the sign in which he was found, his motions slower at the solstices, quicker at the equinoxes, and that

the

that his influence was more or less according. To these phænomena they assigned various characteristic marks. Having adopted hieroglyphics, which speak by symbols, only, they, by turns, painted the Sun as a child, a man grown, and an old man, fometimes joyful, fometimes fad, or resplendent in light; by which the priefts understood his astronomical aspects, or physical effects. Accustomed to behold these figures on their temples, the vulgar forgot the fymbol, and adored them as Deities. Macrobius, initiated in the mysteries of this antient religion, thus unveils them (r); "To mark the shortest " day in the year, the Egyptians, at the " winter folftice, take the fymbol of the " Sun from the fanctuary, under the form " of a child; whom, growing rapidly, at the " vernal equinox, they reprefent as a youth; " and, mature at the fummer folftice, they " give him a full face with a long beard. " At last they depict him as an old man, to " fignify his decline." Adopted, no doubt, before the invention of writing, these emblems, preserved by the priests, expressed . which has was found, his motions flower at the foliticest dil lenuts , Satural, lib. 1:00ifilo? ed.

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the four ages of the Sun, and lealons of the year.

Let us examine what the Egyptians meant by the name Ammon, fo famous in antiquity. Amoun, fays Plutarch (s), whence we derive Ammon, is the Egyptian name for Jupiter. This god was particularly adored at Thebes, which the facred books call Hammonno, the possession of Hammon, and the septuagint (t) the city of Ammon. "The inhabitants of Thebes hold the ram " to be facred, and eat not his flesh; yet, " on the annual festival of Jupiter, they be-" head, and fkin, the ram, with which they " cover the statue of the God (u)." The meaning of this ceremony we are taught by Proclus (x), who fays, the Egyptians held the ram in veneration, and because this fign, the first of the Zodiac, presaged fruits, Eusebius adds, the symbol indicated

also, give Jupiter the surname of Ammon.

<sup>(</sup>t) Ezekiel, cap. 30. The Greeks and Romans call it Diospolis, the city of Jupiter.

<sup>(</sup>u) Herod. lib. 2.

<sup>(\*)</sup> Proclus in Timæum.

the conjunction of the Sun and Moon in the ram (y). The formula that bonner much

You recollect, Sir, what the ceremony was the priefts of Ammon observed when they consulted the oracle. Faithful followers of the opinions of their forefathers, who figured the Sun making a voyage in a ship, they bore, in a boat, the statue of the god, formed of precious stones, and having a ram's head. Authorities and facts, so numerous, demonstrate that Ammon, among the Egyptian Astronomers, represented the Sun, in which fense Diodorus might say Osiris and Ammon are the same (z). Yet these two names do not denote the same phænomena; the first fignified the Sun to be the Author of Time, the fecond announced Spring, and the commencement of the astronomical year, under the fign of the ram, which was meant by the fymbolical figure of the deity. The word Amoun, formed from Am-ouein (a), refplendent, indicated the defired effects which

<sup>(</sup>y) Euseb. de Prep. Evangel. lib. 3.

<sup>(</sup>a) Jablonski, tom. 1. shand is sail ob noss (1)

the Sun produced when at the Equator; as lengthened days, superiour light, and, particularly, the presage of inundation and plenty of Amnon oblived when plant

The priefts were accustomed to associate Hercules in this worthip. At the feast of Ammon, after covering the statue of Jupiter with the skin of the ram, they placed near this symbolical deity the idol of Hercules (b), which, in their language, they called Dsom, or Dsom (c), strength, which characterised the power of the Sun when at the equinoctial. According to Plutarch (d), they also said Hercules, placed in the Sun, turned with it; which has not escaped Macrobius (e). " The very name of Her-" cules (Heanling) shews it meant the San. "Heas fignifies air, and Kais splendor, " for what is the splendor of the air but " that illumination it receives from the Sun. " by whose departure it is left in profound " darkness?" Hence the fanciful allegories

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<sup>(</sup>c) Jablonski, tom. r.

<sup>(</sup>d) Plut. de Iside et Osiride.

<sup>(</sup>e) Macrob. Saturnal. lib. 1.

of the Greeks which attest that the twelve labours of the Hero allude to the Sun passing the twelve signs of the Zodiack, during his annual revolution.

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### OF HORUS, A SYMBOLICAL DEITY.

The hawk was a symbol of Harus, as well as of Osiris, to whom similar attributes were frequently ascribed; his throne supported by lions, because he represented the Sun at the Summer solstice: his education at Butis, on the banks of the grand lake, denoted his power in attracting vapours, which fell in dews on the earth; his victory over Typhon signified the good effects the Sun produced in Summer, as inundation, the expelling the South, and bringing the Etesian, winds.

### To M. L. M.

Grand Cairo.

HORUS, a famous deity of antient Egypt, was also, Sir, a type of the Sun. Plutarch affirms (f) the virtue resident in the Sun, while he moves through space, the Egyptians named Horus, and the Greeks Apollo. Three

(f) Plut. de Iside et Ofiside.

cities,

cities, named after this god (g), prove the veneration he was held in by the people (b). The hawk equally fignifies Ofiris and Horus, to which the same attributes were sometimes ascribed. In Hermapion's interpretation of the hieroglyphics engraved on the obelifk at Heliopolis, are these remarkable words. " Horus is Lord Supreme, and the Author " of Time (i)," which are the principal attributes of Ofiris, and, to appertain to Horus, it follows Horus fignified the Sun, in certain figns: as we learn from the oracle of Apollo, at Claros. " Know that the first " of the gods is I20, called the Invisible in Winter, Jupiter in Spring (k), the Sun in " Summer, and, toward the end of Autumn, " the tender Iao." The Sun at the Summer folftice, then, by pre-eminence, called the Sun, is the same as Horus. The Egyptians depicted him borne by lions (1) because he

(g) Horapoll. Hieroglyph. lib. 1.

(b) Their Egyptian name was Cities of Horus. The Greeks called them Cities of Apollo.

(i) Ammianus Marcellinus.

(k) i. e. Amoun. Which various denominations will be explained in the fequel.

(1) Horapoll. Hieroglyph. lib. 1.

entered the fign of Leo. Those who presided over divine things placed sphinxes, then, at the entrance of canals, and facred fountains. to inform the people of the approaching inundation. We learn from Macrobius why the Greeks called Horus Apollo, and he confirms this opinion. "In their mysteries "they discovered, as an inviolable secret." " that the Sun, entering the superior hemis-" phere, is called Apollo (m)." These are concurring proofs that this emblematic deity only fignified the Sun when in the Summer figns. This might lead to an interpretation of the facred fable which the priests invented of Horus, for they continually enveloped their religion in mystery. Plutarch relates it at length (n): I shall only give an abstract. They affirmed he was the fon of Ifis and Ofiris? that Typhon, having killed Ofiris, his brother, feized the kingdom; but Horus, allying himself to Isis, revenged his father's death, drove the tyrant from the throne, without taking his life, and reigned glorioully in, Egypt. Whoever has travelled, but a little,

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<sup>(</sup>m) Macrob. Saturnal. lib. r. ... just a foot ! ..

<sup>(</sup>n) De Iside et Osiride: anne elle essellique

through this country, will observe physical phænomena, concealed under the veil of fable. The wind Khamfin often is very de-Aructive in fpring, raising vortices of scorching fands which fuffocate travellers, cloud the air, and hide the face of the fun, so that the earth, fometimes, remains plunged in darkness. Here are the death of Ofiris, and the reign of Typhon. These tempests usually happen in the months of February, March. and April; but are diffipated when the fun approaches Leo, because it changes the atmosphere, and brings the Etesian winds which difpel unwholfome vapours, and maintain coolness, and falubrity, under a fiery sky. This is the triumph of Horus over Typhon, and this his glorious reign. Naturalists, observing the influence of the moon on the atmosphere, allied her to the god to chase the usurper from the throne. Confidering Ofiris as father of time, the priests gave Horus, who reigned three months in the year, the title of his fon. This I think to be the natural way of explaining the allegory. Men of learning must have understood a language familiar to them; the populace, only, who faw not beyond the Z 3 furface.

furface, could regard these allegoric perfonages as real gods, and decree them prayers and facrifices. Jablonski (0), interpret. ing the epithet Arueri, which the Egyptians gave Horus, fays it fignified effective virtue; which expression perfectly characterizes the phenomena that happen during the reign of this god in Egypt, where the fun displays all his power, in summer, swelling the waters by the vapours he has attracted, that are driven among the Abysfinian mountains, and requiting the husbandman with the riches of agriculture. That they should honour him with the name of Arueri, to indicate these auspicious effects, was natural.

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tion to this new deity. Seraply the god of the court, almost obliterated these of the am-

## cient) EXIXX. A E T'T' E I tended to build him temples, and burn incense on his

## of THE CELESTIAL SERAPIS.

Serapis adored under the Ptolemies, who built a stately temple in honour of him; though this deity was worshipped in Egypt before their reign, and originated on the banks of the Nile; was an emblem of the sun in autumn: named invisible because of the shortness of the day, in the north: was the Pluto of the Greeks, but divested of their poetical fables.

### pis ( i) , which M (L My or e the deity, was

cenes exclaimed let me chen be Sem-

THE Ptolemies bringing from Sinope, a city of Pontus, to Alexandria, the statue of a god, that arriving was called Serapis, propagated his worship throughout Egypt. The stately temple they built in his honour, which vied in grandeur with the capitol, the beauty of its ornaments, majestic architecture, festivals, and the pompous ceremonies they instituted, attracted the popular venera-

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tion to this new deity. Serapis, the god of the court, almost obliterated those of the ancient Egyptians. Provinces contended to build him temples, and burn incense on his altars; to which celebrity we must attribute the opinion of writers, who pretend his worthip was here introduced by the Ptolemies, and, till then unknown; for various passages from better informed historians demonstrate the reverse. Plutarch (p) introduces a man who tells Alexander the Great, Serapis has appeared to me, broken my chains, and fent me to thee. The Athenians, having decreed the honors of Bacchus to this conqueror, Diogenes exclaimed, let me then be Serapis (q); which passages prove this deity was known before the Ptolemies. Authors inform us he originated on the banks of the Nile. Several temples of Serapis are feen in Egypt, fays Pausanias (r). Alexandria possesses the most magnificent, the most ancient is at Memphis. Tacitus, whose testimony cannot be questioned, mentioning the god of

<sup>(</sup>p) Plut, in vita Alexand.

<sup>(</sup>q) Diog. Laert. în vitâ Diogenes.

<sup>(</sup>r) Paufanias in Atticis. การเกิด การครับ เกรียง เป็นเป็น เรามีประชาจ

Sinope, transported to Alexandria, thus fpeaks(s): off A temple, worthy the grant "deur of the city, was built at Racho-" tis (t); where had been an ancient cha-" pel confecrated to Serapis and Ifis." These authorities leave no doubt concerning the antiquity of the Egyptian Serapis, and we also learn from history he was, in some respects, the Greek Pluto, and one of the symbols of the fun. "When the god of Sinope (a) was stransported to Alexandria, the interpreter "Timotheus, and Manetho Sebennytus con-" jectured, beholding the Cerberus and Dra-" gon which adorned his statue, that it re-" presented Pluto, and persuaded Ptolemy " this god and Serapis were the same, tho " not so called in the country whence he " had been brought. On his arrival, there-" fore, he was named Scrapis, for thus the "Egyptians call Pluto." Yet we must not suppose the Egyptian Pluto, like the Greand the state when the same when the

(s) Tacit, Annal, lib, 4,

(t) A small place, inhabited by fishermen in the time of Alexander, but, afterward, a confiderable suburb of Alexandria, where, at prefent, is a hill of rubbith, near a hundred feet high, under which the temple lies buried.

(u) Plut. de Iside et Osiride.

Sinope.

cian, was the king of Hell, of ghosts, and judge of the dead; this doctrine took birth in Greece, and was unknown at Memphis. Porphyry (x) tells us, "The priefts of " Egypt by Pluto understand the sun, near " the winter folftice, when, remaining under " the earth, he traversed and enlightened " an unknown world." For this reason Callifthenes calls Serapis the invisible god of Sinope; and Julian, speaking of Pluto, fays, " Plato affirms the fublime fouls " of virtuous men are borne before this god, " whom we, also, name Serapis, because he "is invisible (y)." if honobs for the none"

They called him invisible because the fun, near the winter folftice, remains longer concealed, and feems in hafte to hide himfelf from the northern nations; and they depicted him under two different colours, now luminous, and now dark blue, to indicate his abode fix months in the northern, and fix in the fouthern, hemisphere (2). The first was called Amoun, sparkling, or

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<sup>(</sup>x) Porphyr. apud Euseb. Prep. Evang. lib. 3.

<sup>(</sup>y) Julian, Orat. 4.

<sup>(</sup>z) Macrob. Saturnal. lib. 1.

upper; the second Serapis, or lower. Such are the most probable opinions respecting this emblematical deity, to be gathered from the ancients and Jablonski: perhaps the ancient philosophers of Greece meant by Pluto the sun in winter, but the inventive poets made him the monarch of the infernal regions.

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Harpocrates was a symbol of the sun at the winter solstice, in Egypt, and the god of silence in Greece. The priests sigured him with his feet joined, so as scarcely to be able to walk, as an emblem of the slow, and almost insensible, motion of the sun at the tropic of Capricorn. They seated him on the slower of the lotus, because it blossoms at the end of autumn.

#### To M. L. M.

Grand Cairo.

MACROBIUS tells us the Egyptians took the semblance of the sun from the sanctuary, under the form of a child, to announce to the people the shortest day; which emblematic deity was called Harpocrates (a). The Greeks made him the god of silence;

(a) Saturnal. lib. 1.

because

because he was born with one of his singers on his mouth. Is is was delivered of the tender Harpocrates at the winter solstice (b). This Egyptian name signifies lame (c), and he was depicted with this defect to indicate the slow, and almost insensible, motion of the sun at the tropic. The two seet of Harpocrates were joined so as to form but one, which the Egyptians meant as emblematic of the course of the sun, at the winter solstice (d). Plutarch adds, they depicted him seated on the flower of the lotus (e): nor could they find a symbol more expressive; for this stately sliy of the north, as Herodotus calls it, blowed only at the end of autumn.

The priests who veiled the most striking phænomena of nature in fable, and thus formed an enigmatic theology, said Jupiter (Ammon), having his feet at first joined together, could not walk freely, and was so ashamed of the infirmity that he lived in solitude. Isis, forry at his disaster, by separating, restored him the use of his legs. In

<sup>(</sup>b) Plut. de Iside et Ofiride. 4 (Hab dingaldina

<sup>(</sup>c) Jablonski Pantheon Egyptiacum, tom. I.

<sup>(</sup>d) Horapoll. Hieroglyphica, lib. 2.

<sup>(</sup>e) Plut. de Iside & Osiride.

this allegory we perceive Harpocrates, of the fun, stationary at the winter solftice; and, after the operation of Isis, Ammon (the sun), advancing more rapidly, when arrived at the Equator.

The Egyptians were not the only people who expressed themselves by symbols; all ancient nations, especially in the infancy of language, were obliged to adopt the use of parables and allegories: before the invention of letters, objects were necessary to speak to the mind; and the metaphors so often employed in Hebrew and Arabic prove their antiquity. "The Paphlagonians said the "fun slept in winter, and waked in sum-"mer; and the Phrygians that he was en"chained in winter, and walked free from statters in the spring st."

I have the honour to be, &c.

(f) Plut. de Iside et Osiride.

figuriles, modefruitful (). That his produc-

# LETTER XXIV.

### MENDES A SYMBOL OF THE SUN.

Mendes probably the sirst emblem of the sun, fignifying its productive virtue. The goat confecrated to him as the most prolific of animals. The priests initiated. The phallus, an emblem of generation, worn on their habits, and adorned the statues of their other deities: improperly named Pan by the Greeks.

### To M. L. M.

Grand Caire.

THE God I am going to speak of, Sir, was, apparently, the first symbol of the sun. The Egyptians, finding they were indebted to him for the richness of their country and inundation, that his beneficent beams, which gave health and life to all nature, made the plants sprout, and ripened the harvest, held the sun to be the first source of fertility, and adored him by the name of Mendes, which signifies

fignifies most fruitful (g). That his productive power might plainly be denoted, they confecrated the goat to him, the living image of the god it represented, and fed it in the temple of Mendes. The people of the Mendesian province held festivals in its honour, wore mourning at its death, and paid it veneration so extraordinary that decency will not permit me to cite what Herodotus, Pindar, Plutarch, and others, have written. So much may superstition bewilder feeble humanity! The father of history (b), deceived by this adoration, supposed Mendes really lignified a goat, and several of the Greek writers have adopted the error. Others have found and remarked that Mendes was the symbolic deity of fecundity; the goat its living emblem, and the fun the principle. Suidas afferts, " The Egyptians adore " the goat because it is consecrated to gene-" rative virtue (i)." Diodorus (k) and Horapollo (1) are of the same opinion.

adrium!

<sup>(</sup>g) Jablonski, Pantheon Egyptiacum, tom. I

<sup>(</sup>i) Suidas sub voce Mendes.

<sup>(</sup>k) Diod. lib. 1.) sand the selection of wall

<sup>(1)</sup> Hieroglyph. lib. 1.

The Greeks pictured Pan with horns, and the feet and tail of a goat, and supposed an analogy between him and the Egyptian god, wherefore they called Mendes Pan, and the city of Chemmis Panopolis, now Achmim, where Mendes had a temple. This refamblance was but apparent; Pan, the guardian of woods, caverns, and mountains, was a demi-god, while that of Egypt was in the number of the eight grand deities. " Her-" cules, Bacchus, and Pan (m) have lately been received in the temples of Greece. Pan (i. e. Mendes) is the most ancient of " the eight grand gods of Egypt."--" The " Egyptians honour Pan (n) with a particular worship, his statue is in most of " their temples, and the priefts who fucceed " to the facred office are first initiated into his mysteries."

These passages authorize us to suppose Mendes the first emblem of the sun, and this is but rational; for, before astronomers had imagined the tropics, the equator, and observed the various phoenomena produced by

<sup>(</sup>m) Herodotus.

<sup>(</sup>n) Diod. Sic. lib. 1.

the sun's revolution, the Egyptians must have remarked his productive virtue. Fully to depict it they created an emblematic deity and named him Mendes, most prolific, of which the goat was the image; for this reason Diodorus (2) declares Mendes and Osiris are the same; and, in fact, they both denoted the sun, but each meant different attributes. What gives this truth a farther degree of evidence is that the phallus, the symbol of generation, and, especially, of Mendes, adorned all the deities I have spokes of, and the sacerdotal habits of the priests.

I have enumerated the various denominations under which the fun was adored in ancient Egypt: by the famous name of Ofiris they held him to be the author of time; Ammon marked his passage to the equator, announced spring and reviving light; Hercules denoted his benevolent power; the glorious reign of Horus meant the summer signs, and informed the people of the expulsion of the south winds, and the progress of the inundation; Serapis signified his return from the

(0) Lib. 1.

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Equinoctial

Equinoctial to the tropic of Cancer; Harpocrates the flownels of his courle, when at the winter follitice; and, laftly, Mendes was the symbol of his generative virtue. these attributes, thus personified, the priests formed a fabulous theology; which, the people, holding this facred; were led to worship chimerical gods. I shall next speak of Isis and the correspondent deities : you will every where find the same system, and perceive the priests studying nature, astronomy, observing phylical effects, and veiling their discoveries

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custiled by the famous name of Oficis they held him to be the author of time; Anmon marked his passage no the equator, anmanned ipring and reviving light at Hereule. denoted his benevelent power; the glorious reign of the figure and the funmer figure, and intermed the people of the expulsion of the and the gragrets of the inundition one thing is ted his return from the

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# the Macan story in the Argive tongue, the SASSOF TISTS OF THE MOONSOM

the Moen in the Moen in initial and The Egyptians first adored the moon under ber proper name lob, which worship, brought to Greece, gave birth to the fable of Io. Observing her influence, they named her Isis, the cause of plenty, and attributed the inundation to the tears of the deity, i. e. the dew of which she was the reputed mother. The Copts fill pretend the dew, during the folflice, ferments the waters, and makes them duence on the atmosphere, wind wolfravoin, neld her, as well as the Sun, to be the source

# of the mundation act. Melorg a characteristic

ewils) brandied her His, which, in Egyptian,

THE Egyptians were unbounded in their veneration for the Moon; which, from the highest antiquity, they honoured as the queen of Heaven (p). They first adored her under her proper name of Iob (q). Inachus, the (a) lablonika, Pantheon Ægypharum, com H

<sup>(</sup>p) Jeremiah.

<sup>(4)</sup> Jablonski, Pantheon Ægypt, tom. H.

first king of Argos, brought this worship into Greece, one hundred and twenty years before Moses (r). "The cow is there," says Eustathius (f), "the symbol of Io, or "the Moon; for, in the Argive tongue, the "Moon is called Io."—"The Greeks "now call the Moon Io, in a hidden and mystical sense (r)." After the Grecian language had prevailed over the Egyptian, this forgotten name appeared mystical, and was only used within the temples, where they preserved the origin of ancient religions; therefore Malala calls it mystical.

Attached to the observation of the phænomena of nature, the priests of Egypt,
remarking the Moon had an immediate insluence on the atmosphere, wind, and rain,
held her, as well as the Sun, to be the source
of the inundation, and, seeking a characteristic
epithet, named her Isis, which, in Egyptian,
signifies the cause of abundance (u). This
happened three hundred and twenty years

<sup>(</sup>r) Jablonski ubi supra.

<sup>(1)</sup> Comment. in Dionys. Perieget. (1) 13 bit to to 1

<sup>(</sup>t) Chronolog. Johannis Malalantina requirement

<sup>(</sup>u) Jablonski, Pantheon Ægyptiacum, tom. H.

after the departure of the Trachites, at which time they gave the Sun and Moon furnames proper to fix their discoveries, and prefent a new theology to the people. The origin of the Grecian fable must be artributed to this change, which makes to cross the sea, metamorpholed into a cow, and conducts her to Egypt, where the receives the name of Isis. Lucian, perfectly infurded in ancient mythology; makes Jupiter speak thus. "Conduct To to the banks of the Nile." " acrus the fea! fet her become Iss, the " goddels of the Egyptians, augment the waters of the river, and let loole the " winds." The most important event of the country being the increase of the Nile, on which the existence of the nation depended, they most carefully fought its cause. priests, initiated in the mysteries, that is to fay, instructed in the natural fense of allegories with which they amused vulgar credulity, knew all that related to the inundation, and the figns by which they might judge whether it would be more or less favourable. Their intimate connection with the Ethiopians had procured them most valuable information, 8 dil San A ni which

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which they kept among themselves. "Them heavy rains, which fall in Summer, swell the Nile, as Aristotle and Eudoxus affirm. "who fay they received this information " from the Egyptian priests (x)." They also knew these rains were occasioned by the north winds. "The rains of Abyffinia are attributed to the Etenan winds, which it " drive the northern clouds thither (y)." The learned were not ignorant of these merely physical effects; but, that they might hold the people in subjection, they involved them in mystery, which they themselves only understood.

The vulture, the symbol of Isis, denoted the had the power to engender, and let loofe, ... the winds. The Nile began to increase at it the new Moon after the folftice, wherefore, the priests, holding this planet to be the mother of the winds, decreed her the honour (2) " Ifis is the genius of the Nile (a). Then " fiftrum the holds in her right hand fignified di

(\*) Eustath in Odys, IV. alet no store ed bluow ti

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(2) Euleb Prap. Evaniliava. from ment berusong

(a) Servius in Æneid, lib. 8.

the increase and flooding of the waters, ff the vafe in her left their abundance in the "fi canals." Temples were exceed to her, in various provinces, and the had every where altars, and priefts. Eustathius, the grammarian, fays Cophtos is a city of the Thebais, where Io is adored by the name of Ifis; they celebrate the increase of the Nile with the fiftrum in thefe festivals. The people, according to the allegoric language of the priefts, think they owe this benefit to the tears of the deity. According to Paulanius, the Egyptians were perfuaded the tears of Ifis augmented the Nile, and made it overflow the fields, of which superstition the Copts are not yet cured; they still fay a dew falls at the folftice, which ferments the water of the river, and produces the flood. Is not this dew the tears of the goddess, so famous among their forefathers? They intended to establish an analogy between the phænomena attending the course of the Moon and those of the inundation. " They fay " the degrees of the elevation of the waters " answer to the phases of the Moon; that at " Elephantina they rife to twenty-eight cubits,

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bits, corresponding to the days of her revolution; that at Mendes, where the in"crease is least, they approach seven cubits,
equal to the days of the first quarter; and
that the mean point of the increase at
"Memphis is fourteen cubits, corresponding
to the full Moon (b)." Here we see with
what attention they sought for dauses which
had any relation to an event so interesting to
public felicity.

Having named the Moon Isis, or the cause of abundance, the Egyptians bestowed this epithet on the earth, as the mother of sruits.

Macrobius says, It is known that Osiris is the Sun, and Isis (c) the Earth. "Isis, in the Egyptian tongue, denotes the Earth (d)."

Thus considered, she has great affinity with the Ceres of the Greeks. Herodotus declares her to be the same deity (e). But, not to wander from the Egyptian theology, this denomination must not be extended to the globe in general. Plutarch, persectly in-

and those of the inundation. 'I They lay lay the degrees of the clevellou of the waters.

<sup>(</sup>c) Saturnalia, lib. 1.

<sup>(</sup>a) Servius in Æneid, lib. 8.9 ods or rowins

<sup>.</sup> Usephantina they rue to twentydried; cu-

formed, tells us the priests bestowed the name of Isis only on that part of Egypt which the Nile waters, alluding to its secundity; and adds that, in sacred language, the inundation was called the marriage of Osiris with Isis.

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the Latins, was only conferred to the Sound duty of the Response formed to prior duty at the rights of this flow. Their sections

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As TRONOMERS, having observed the courte of Sothis, and the relation is had to source of Sothis, and the relation is had to an object, of veneration, proposed this that is an object, of veneration, proposed this that is by religion. Its fame was firth that the authors have called it lies? "This is also to name of a that, called Sothis, in Fgypt and in Greek Aftrocyon (Arpanton).

LETTER

# LETTER XXVI

The Hells the priefls bestowed the

# OF THE STAR SOTHIS. In on

Some writers call Sothis Isis, but this star, called Sirius by the Greeks, and Canicula by the Latins, was only confecrated to that goddess. The Egyptians formed two periods, dated at the rifing of this flar. Their great veneration for it proceeded from their being able, at the time of its beliaval rifing, to determine the height of the inundation; whence they named it the flar which makes the waters increase.

## To M. L. M.

ads the about oil it Grand Cairo. ASTRONOMERS, having observed the sourse of Sothis, and the relation it had to Is and the inundation, proposed this star as an object of veneration, and confectated it by religion. Its fame was fuch that feveral authors have called it Isis. " Isis is also the " name of a star; called Sothis, in Egyptian, " and in Greek Aftrocyon (Asponson) (f)."-

<sup>(</sup>f) Horapell. Hieroglyph. lib. 1.

" The Egyptians affirm Sothis and Isis are " the same (g)." Be these opinions as they may, Sothis, certainly, was not Isis, but merely the constellation of the dog, and, particularly, the star Sirius. The Egyptians dated the commencement of the civil year from his " The far which the Greeks call " Sirius, and the dog star, the Egyptians " name Sothis. The constellation of Orion " and the dog are confecrated to Horus and " Isis (b)." Theon the astronomer supports this opinion (i). "Sirius rises about eleven " at night, at which time the Egyptian year " begins, and his rifing has been confecrated " to Ifis." -- " Aquarius is not at Memof the phis, as at Rome, the beginning of the year, but Cancer, near which fign is " Sothis, which the Greeks call the dog, "The first day of the Egyptian month, " and, according to them, of the crea-" tion of the world, is the rising of this ". ftar (k)." -- " Antiquity affigns the lion

<sup>(</sup>g) Damasius in vità Isidori.

(b) Plut de Isido (Constitution and Vocalisa (Constitution)

<sup>(</sup>b) Plut. de Iside et Osiride.
(i) Theon. in Arati Phænom.

<sup>(</sup>k) Porphyr. de Antro Nympharum.

"they were under those signs at the creation (1)." These last words may be supposed to mark the time when men, after numerous observations on the motion of the celestial bodies, formed their discoveries into one doctrinal system, which they called Astronomy, and dated the creation from that epocha. Were this conjecture true it would prove the Egyptians to be the most antient of astronomers, for authors attribute to them this allegoric language.

Thefe citations, Sir, demonstrate Sothis was not his, but confecrated to his. The aftronomers have two periods they called Sothic, because they were dated at the rising of this star. The first comprehended one thousand four hundred and fixty-one years, in which they principally considered the course of the Sun, that, after this long revolution, returned to the same position in the heavens. The duration of the second was twenty-five years, and related to the course of the Sun and Moon. They had observed that, after this space of time, the new Moons

<sup>(1)</sup> Macrob. Somn. Scipionis.

began on the same day of the year, without, however, being at the same point of the Zodiack. By this cycle, which included exactly three hundred and nine linear revolutions, they regulated their sestivals, for they paid great attention to the Neomenia.

This was the chief of the reasons which led them to consecrate the dog star to Iss. They supposed this deity to be the cause of the inundation; and, as they could judge by the rising of Sothis how high the waters would be, they dedicated this star to her. "The rising of the dog star announces, by certain signs, the events of the year (m)." This passage must be understood of the increase of the Nile, which was the most important phænomenon of Egypt. Diodorus Siculus (n) informs us the Egyptians called Sothis the star which made the waters increase.

Bochart and Kircher, who knew that the Greeks called Sothis, Kuw, a dog, and the Latins Canicula, have pretended this word had the same signification in Egyptian; but

<sup>(</sup>m) Horapoll. Hieroglyph. lib. 1.

<sup>(</sup>n) Lib. 1.

Jablonki (g) has perfectly proved this erroneous, and that the name comes from SothOir, the beginning of time. Nor could they
better describe a star at the rising of which
they dated their civil year, and, allegorically,
the creation of old of noitness a base

This was the chief of the reasons which let they specified this deity to be the cause of They supposed this deity to be the cause of the inundation; rand, as they could indge by the rising of Sothis how high the waters will a the medicardy specified the waters will a the medicardy specified for the her.

This passage must be understood of the increase of the Nile, which was the most important phenomenon, of Egypti. Diodorus sixulus sixulus sixulus she increase of the Nile, which was the most important phenomenon, of Egyptians called socials the sixulus sixulus sixulus she waters in the second with the medicard starting sixulus sixulus she waters in the second with the medicard starting sixulus sixulus she waters in the medicard with the medicard starting sixulus sixulus she waters in the medicard with the medicard starting starting waters in the medicard with the medicard starting starting waters in the medicard with the medicard starting starting starting waters in the medicard with the medicard starting starting

Bochart, and Kircher, who know that this firetes galled Sothas, I wit, a dog, and the Lating Gandula, haye, pretended this word had the fame figurification in Egyptian; but

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ablonchi /e/ han perfectly ground this error

### LETTER XXVII.

### OF BUBASTIS, A SYMBOLICAL DEITY.

Bubastis bigbly bonoured in Egypt: A city bore ber names dided pregnant women, and; therefore, called Diana, and Ilithyia, by the Greeks and Latins: represented the new moon: bad festivals on the third day of the month, because the crescent then became vifible.

# To M. L. M.

Grand Cairo THE Egyptians, Sir, gave different names to the sun, either to characterise its effects, or relations to the earth: they followed the fame method with the moon. Choeremon, a facred writer of Egypt, puts this beyond doubt (p): " All that has been afferted of " Ofiris and Ifis, each religious fable figni-" fies the phases of the moon, and the " course of the sun."

Bubaftis

<sup>(</sup>p) Yide Porphyrii Epist. ad Anebo.

Bubaltis was the principal attribute of His, which theology perfonified, and made a deity, in honour of whom a city was built, beating her name, and a temple (q), where, at a certain feafon of the year, the people from all parts of Egypt affembled. The fymbol of this goddels was a cat, fed with confecrated food by the priests, embalmed at its death, and borne with funeral pomp to its destined tomb. The ancients have explained this worthip in various ways, all little probable, in my opinion, and which I shall not recite. The Greeks fay, when Typhon declared war on the gods, Apollo changed himself to the vulture, Mercury to the ibis, and Bubastis to the cat, and that the people's veneration for the latter originated in this fable; but they borrowed their ideas from the Egyptians, who thought very differently. Be this as it may, the cat was highly honoured in Egypt, and a Roman foldier, imprudently killing one, was instantly stoned by the populace.

In the language of the priests, Bubastis was the daughter of Isis, and, in certain

(9) Herod, lib. 2.

Vot. II. Bb

cases,

cases, her representative; hence the Greeks. who worshipped the moon under the name of Diana, bestowed this name on the Egyptian deity (r). The Egyptians attributed to her the virtue of fuccouring pregnant women. Nicarchus (3) proves this when, speaking of a lady who, without invoking her, had been fafely delivered, he fays, "Thus the function of Bubastis has been " rendered useles! Should women be brought " to bed like Philanium, what must be-" come of the goddess ?" and what d

The Greeks and Latins, disciples of the Egyptians, ascribed the same power to Diana, whom Horace thought worthy of the following lines (t): 1912 Man will hameyer, and and property togethered to the war

Montium custos nemorumque virgo, anoma Quæ laborantes utero puellas Ter vocata audis, adimisque letho, Diva triformis. the tack was

M to hear till er

Philosophers will seek the origin of this worship in the laws nature has imposed on women, which, in some fort, accord with

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<sup>(</sup>r) Herod. lib. 2.

<sup>(</sup>s) Anthologia, lib. 1.

<sup>(</sup>t) Hor. lib. III. ode xxii.

lunar revolutions, though, with the poets, they have concealed them in allegories, on

Not that there is a perfect refemblance between the two deities: The Diana of the Greeks was the godders of the woods and the chace; not so the Bubastis of the Egyptians. The first was the daughter of Jupiter and Latona; the latter of Ofiris and Ifis.

A barbarous cuftom was introduced in the festivals, held in honour of Bubastis, whom the Greeks also called Ilithyia, or Lucina, to fignify her influence on child-bearing. Under this name the Egyptians adored her, in the city of Ilithyia, near Latopolis (u). " In "this city (x) men, called Typhons, were " burned alive, as Manetho affirme, and their " ashes were scattered to the winds."-" Amosis (y) abolished these sanguinary sa-" crifices, substituting wax figures, as large " as life," Herodotus (2) positively maintains the Egyptians were never guilty of this

<sup>(</sup>u) Strabo, lib. 17, mentions this city, no remains of which are now to be found.

(x) Plut, de Iside et Osiride,

<sup>(</sup>y) Porphyr. de Abstinentia.
(z) Ltb. 2. The Egyptians say this historian only facrificed hogs, calves, oxen, and geefe.

rime. "How," exclaims he, "could a people who reluctantly were brought to immolate a few animals, shed human blood on the altars of the gods?" Testimonies being very positive on both sides, it may be supposed the Arab pastors, who subjugated Egypt, long before the coming of the Israelites, introduced a barbarous sustom, established among themselves from the remotest antiquity (a). This opinion gains probability from the Egyptians ceasing to shed human blood, when Amosis had taken Heliopolis from these serocious conquerors, and driven them toward the frontiers of Arabia.

The question, here, naturally occurs, how might Bubastis be called the daughter of Isis, being equally the symbol of the Moon! Egyptian theology easily explains these seeming contradictions. Is was the general name

<sup>(</sup>a) "The Dumatenian Arabs annually killed a child, "and buried it under the altar, using its corple as a divine "idol." Porphyr. de Abstinentia, lib. 2. I might bring many other citations to prove the Arabs had human facrifices. Mahomet, strongly reprehending this abominable custom, has eradicated it from among them. Throughout the earth we find, with astonishment, examining the origin of nations, there are none who have not offered men in facrifice to the Gods.

of the Moon; Bubastis one of its attributes. Sol in conjunction with Luna was the celestial marriage of Osiris with Isis; and the crescent, which three days after appeared, was, allegorically, their daughter. In this sense the Hebrews called the same appearance the birth of the Moon; and thus Horace (b):

Cœlo supinas si tuleris marais

Nascente Luna, Rustica Phidyle; &c.

Hence we learn why, in the city of Ilithyia, where Bubastis was adored, there was a particular ceremony on the third day of the lunar month (c). The Egyptians then kept a solemn festival, in honour of Bubastis, which, in their language, signified New Moon (d). The crescent on her head visibly expressed the meaning of the priests when they formed this symbolical deity.

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the first with atomishment, examining the or-

<sup>(</sup>b) Hor. lib. III. ode 23.

<sup>(</sup>c) Eufeb. Prep. Evan. lib. 3.

<sup>(</sup>d) Jablonski Panth. Egypt. tom. II.

endiugy was a lingle block of grande, a

## cube, each fide of which was fixty feet, and and or L. E. T. T. E. R. XXVIII. graf on

OF BUTIS, A SYMBOL OF THE FULL it from all parts. Inoom reciai anythology,

tory (c). The grade of Butis became to

This deity, the Latona of the Greeks, had a famous temple, in the city of Butis, and a Sanctuary made from one enormous block of granite. Uttered oracles: her temple faid to be in a moving island. Being most abundant at the Full Moon, she was thought to have caused the dew. Said to have educated Horus, and saved bim from the snares of Typhon.

### To M. L. M.

Grand Cairo.

so duct sauged, and fix such chair ■ HE Egyptians, also, revered an emblematic deity, named Buto, or Butis, which, in certain respects, was the same with Isis; and built the city Butis, on that branch of the Nile which, running near Sebennytis, now Semennoud, discharges itself into Lake Bourlos. Here she was adored, in a magnificent temple, which I have described, from Herodotus, in Letter XXII. Vol. I. The fanctuary 2 6 6

fanctuary was a fingle block of granite, a cube, each fide of which was fixty feet, and the largest and heaviest stone known to history (a). The oracle of Butis became so famous that the Egyptians came to consult it from all parts. In the Grecian mythology, which is derived from sacerdotal sables, this deity is called Latona (f); the Egyptians pretend she had nurtured Horus and Bubastis, and that her temple was built on a floating island. The Greeks, imitating their masters, say Latona, the mother of Apollo and Diana, had taken refuge in Delos, which floated as impelled by the winds.—

Notwithstanding the question of Herodotus,

(f) Herod. lib. 2.

doctrana

B b 4

how

<sup>(</sup>e) The block from which this fanctuary was cut had but five sides, the cieling being formed of another stone. These sides were 60 seet square, and six in thickness, so that it must have contained 91584 cubic seet, and this number multiplied into 184 pounds, the weight of a cubic soot of granite, gives 16,851,456 pounds, from which, if we deduct 851,456 pounds for the entrance, the dimensions of which the historian has not preserved, there will remain 16,000,000 pounds for the whole weight of this enormous mass, the most stupendous ever moved by human powers. See the Presace.

how might an island move and swim (g)? they adopted the Egyptian allegary in their theology; the poets embellished it, and the people, incapable of understanding the true meaning, worshipped a chimera.

Let us examine, for this is the true object of enquiry, what the priefts meant. The phænomena of nature was their peculiar study, which they uninterruptedly purfued under a climate much less variable than that of Europe. They learned to foresee, from the observations of ages, preserved in the facred archives, what must happen at stated seasons (h). They had remarked that dew was not abundant at the New Moon. but exceedingly fo at the full: they supposed the Moon greatly to influence the atmosphere, to attract vapours from lakes and rivers, and return them in dew; they, therefore, made the Full Moon a deity, which they named Agreeable to their principles, her Butis. abode was belide the grand lake, that she might more eafily quench her thirst; which

<sup>(</sup>g) Herod. lib. 2.

<sup>(</sup>b) A nation who had a period of 1461 years must, for many ages, have observed the heavens and phænomena of

doctrine, come from Egypt, or where it will, or whether or not supposed by Philosophers to be well founded, has been adopted by many of the ancients and moderns.

" The stoics say the Sun heats the waters of the fea with his rays, and the Moon attracts the mild humidity of lakes and " fountains (i)." Pliny fays (k), " Soft " waters are the element of the Moon, and " falt that of the Sun." - " At the full of " the Moon (1), the air diffolves in rain; " or, if the fky is serene, distills abundant " dews, which occasioned the lyric poet, " Aleman, to call the dew the fon of the " Air and the Moon." Among modern Naturalists, M. Mile (m) has adopted this opinion. "In a fine day, and, especially, " in Spring, a cold and fubtle vapour is " attracted by the Moon, into the middle " region of the air; whence, foon con-" denfed to imperceptible drops, it falls to " the ground, in abundant dews, and yields " the necessary nutriment to plants."

<sup>(</sup>i) Plutarch.

<sup>(</sup>k) Lib. 2.

<sup>(1)</sup> Macrob. Saturnal. lib. 7.

<sup>(</sup>m) Hift. Nat. tom. 2.

I do not cite these, Sir, as indubitable authorities. No one can deny the Moon greatly to influence the atmosphere; but, I believe, it would be difficult to prove it attracts water. This is the property of the Sun, which, by expanding humid particles, renders them lighter than the air, through which they rife, till they find an equilibrium. But were the ancients ignorant of this attraction, or do not the cited passages tend to prove they were not, and that they knew it was greater when the Sun and Moon were in opposition? Whether or not, the Egyptians, living in a hot climate, feldom refreshed by the salutary rains common to others, and which would be uninhabitable did not night dews (n) give life to vegetables, carefully observed how they were produced; and, perceiving them heaviest at the Full Moon, created a prefiding deity. " Dew " falls most abundantly at the full of the " Moon (o)."---" In Egypt, Bactria, and

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<sup>(</sup>n) They are so abundant, especially in Summer, that the earth is deeply soaked, and, in the morning, it might be supposed to have rained during night.

<sup>(</sup>o) Plutarch.

" at Babylon, where it feldom rains, plants " are fed by dews (p)." For this reason the Scripture often promised the Israelites, who inhabited a climate much like that of Egypt, dew, as a signal favour; and foretold its want, as a chastisement.

The Egyptians were attentive observers. and divided the time (q) between the New and Full Moon into three equal parts. The first was called the imperfect gift; and the third, from the 11th to the 15th, was dignified with the title of the perfect gift; because the dews then fell abundantly. The name of Butis, a fymbolical deity, precifely marked what they supposed the cause; for it fignifies the planet that attracts humidity, or the mother of dew (r). Here we discover the genius of the priefts; ever concealing natural effects under allegory. The following is the fable they invented (s): " The Egyp-" tians fay that Latona (Butis) one of their " eight great deities, inhabiting the city of " Butis, where her oracle is, received Horus

<sup>(</sup>p) Theophrast. Hist. Plantarum.

<sup>(</sup>q) Proclus. Comment. in Timæum.

<sup>(</sup>r) Jablonski Panth. Egypt. tom. II.

<sup>(</sup>s) Herodotus, lib. 2.

" in charge from Isis, and hid him in a

" floating island, preserving him from the

" attempts of Typhon, who came here in

" search of the son of Osiris; for they pre-

" tend that Horus, or Apollo, and Bubastis,

" whom we call Diana, were the children

" of Ofiris and Ifis." " bad ; baffeb sie!

I have spoken, Sir, of the destructive fouth winds, which raise vortices of scorching dust. and fuffocate man and beaft in the deferts. One of their most pernicious effects is absolutely to prevent the falling of the dews, fo necessary to vegetation in Egypt. Here is the tyrant Typhon, searching the son of Ofiris, to put him to death; but Ifis confides him to Butis, whose abode is amidst the waters. That is to fay, the exhalations of the Sun, and the influence of the Moon on the atmosphere, preventing those ills the Khamfin would cause, bestow the salutary dews which renovate nature. This I believe to be the natural interpretation of the facerdotal fable blood virtue country would sldaf latob

I have the honor to be, &c.

" No god is more tolemnly worthin

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THE NILE, AN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN GOD.

The Nile deified; had cities, built in his honour. priefts, festivals, and facrifices. His first name Yaro, river; but, after observing the phanomena of his inundation, they called him Neilon : i. e. increases at a certain season. A . banquet publicly prepared for bim, at the Summer falftice; without which ceremony the people believed be would not overflow bis banks.

# is to put him to death, but lifs con hum to Bitti M. A. More is amidit the

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I HAVE described the Nile, Sir, as the river to which Egypt owes its fertility and wealth. I must now depict it as the deity to whom superstition erected altars. You are aware of its importance; fince, were it not for its fruitful waters, the country would be a defert. These high advantages are indicated by the veneration of the people, which became folly. " No god is more folemnly worshipped " than

"than the Nile (t)." The Egyptians are not the fole people who have deified rivers (u). The ancient Greeks and Indians granted them divine honours; but the Egyptian priefts furpassed them in pompous ceremonies. They even feemed only to adore Ofiris and Ifis because of their relation to the Nile, and influence over his waters. They first called him Yaro (x), which general denomination was long preserved; and, perhaps, there was no other in Homer's time, fince this geographical poet simply calls it the river of Egypt. Having observed, for ages, the phænomena of its increase, they bestowed the epithet Neilon (y). This characteristic expression, adopted by all nations, obliterated the ancient name. Hefiod employs it first, whence we may conjecture he was posterior to Homer. "Thetis " has produced great rivers from the ocean; the "Nile, the Alpheus, and the Eridanus (z)."

(u) Maximus Tyrius.

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<sup>(</sup>t) Plut. de Iside et Osiride.

<sup>(</sup>x) This word in the Coptic fignifies river. Jablon. Panth. Egypt. tom. II.

<sup>(</sup>y) Derived from the Egyptian Nei Alei, which increases at a certain season: hence the Greek News; and the Latin Nilus. Jablonski ubi. sup.

<sup>(</sup>z) Hefiod. Theogen.

The Ethiopians and Egyptians called it by "The river, which, in its different names. " long windings, waters the lands of Ethi-" opia, is called Siris; but the moment its " azure stream reaches Syene, it is then the "Nile (a)." — "The rivulets which form " this great river, gush from the mountains "lying on the east of Libya. The Ethio-" pians name it Siris, and the people of Syene "the Nile (b)." The Egyptians thought they could not fufficiently display their gratitude for the river to which they owed their existence. The pompous titles of father (c), preserver of the country, and the terrestrial Osiris, were given it: the gods were feigned to have been born on its banks (d), which must be understood allegorically; Nicopolis (e) was founded in its honour, and a stately temple erected to it there. From Herodotus we learn (f) that priests were consecrated to

Audit of spinish of the last.

<sup>(</sup>a) Dionys. Perieget.

<sup>(</sup>b) Priscian—This is confirmed by Solinus and Pliny lib. 5.

<sup>(</sup>c) Plut. de Iside et Offride.

<sup>(</sup>d) Diod. Sic. lib. 1.

<sup>(</sup>e) Vide Stephanum Byzantinum.

<sup>(</sup>f) Lib. 2.

pation was to embalm bodies, killed by the crocodiles, or drowned in its waters. "There "was a temple, remarkably grand, in a town of Egypt, where was a wooden statue, famous for being adored by the people, and carried by the impious priests from town to town, in honour of the Nile (g)."——"The Nile gives fruitfulness to this country, and the god is invited, with holy ceremomies, to a splendid feast, annually prepared for him, that he may overslow the land: "fhould the priests fail in observing this ceremonony, at the proper time, he would cease to fertilize the plains of Egypt" (b.)

The priests evidently imposed on vulgar credulity, and instituted a superstitious worfhip, the inessicacy of which they knew, that they might become mediators between heaven and earth, and the supposed dispensers of plenty. The enigmatic theology they had framed, and which the hieroglyphics concealed from the people, admirably served their purpose, and they employed all their know-

(g) Palladius. cap. 57.

Helledouis, Lib. or

<sup>(</sup>h) Libanius Orat. pro Templis.

ledge to render it respectable; which observation is applicable to many nations.

The grand festival of the Nile was at the Summer folftice, when the inundation begins. "This is the most solemn and celebrated fes-" tival of the Egyptians, who pay their river " divine honours, and revere him as the first " of their deities, proclaiming him the rival " of Heaven, fince, without the aid of clouds " and rain, he waters the lands (i)." The type of his increase was a Nilometer; which, when it began, the priests took, from the temple of Serapis, and bore, in pomp, through the towns, and cities. This is the wooden statue that excites the anger of Palladius. When the waters fell they replaced it in the fanctuary. They had, likewife, another emblem of the inundation, fculptured in stone, dedicated to the god of the Nile. Pliny, (k) speaking of the Basaltes, says, "The greatest known is that sent to the Tem-" ple of Peace, by the Emperor Vespasian; it " represents the Nile, with fixteen children " playing round him, intimating the number

<sup>(</sup>i) Heliodorus, Lib. 9.

<sup>(</sup>h) Lib. 36.

"of cubits to which his waters rife." Such, Sir, are the religious opinions of the ancient Egyptians, concerning the Nile; and such the festivals superstition held in its honor, which are not yet wholly abolished: their memory is preserved in the pomp with which the canal of Grand Cairo is annually opened.

I have the honour to be, &c.

A P1S, become famous in Egypt nowned among neighbouring nation ponius Mela / L., delian say, and who speak after the priests; inform generally worthipped in the country divinity proved by evident marks.

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### LETTER XXX.

#### OF APIS, THE SACRED OX.

The fame of Apis: princes and kings came to offer him facrifice: his distinctive marks: Inauguration: The place where he was kept, and the temple to which carried at his death. The celebration of the birth of the new Apis: was the allegorical god of the solar year, the type of the cycle of twenty-five years, and the symbol of inundation.

### To M. L. M.

Grand Cairo.

APIS, become famous in Egypt, was renowned among neighbouring nations. Pomponius Mela (1), Ælian (m), and Lucian, who speak after the priests, inform us he was generally worshipped in the country, and his divinity proved by evident marks. Alexander,

<sup>(1)</sup> Lib. 1.

<sup>(</sup>m) Lib. 11.

having conquered the kingdom, difdained not to offer him facrifice (n). Titus (o), Adrian (p), and Germanicus (q), went to visit and pay him homage. These great princes, doubtless, knew the absurdity of fuch adoration; but curiofity induced them to learn the mysteries of the priests, and the defire of gaining the love of the Egyptians led them to offer incense to their idol. The best and most authentic writers, on Egyptian mythology, fay, Apis was a fymbolical deity. " Among their confecrated animals Mnevis " and Apis are the most famous; the first an " emblem of the fun, the fecond of the moon " (r)." Porphyrius (s), tells us Apis bore characteristic figns of both those luminaries; and Macrobius (t), confirming this opinion, adds, he was equally confecrated to them. You may well suppose, Sir, an ox become the object of public adoration, was not produced like other animals: the priefts affirmed

<sup>(</sup>n) Arrian. Expedit. Alexand.

<sup>(6)</sup> Sucton. in Vita Titi.

<sup>(</sup>p) Sparțian. in Vita Adriani.

<sup>(2)</sup> Tacit. Annal. lib. 2.

<sup>(</sup>r) Ammian. Marcellin. lib. 22.

<sup>(</sup>s) Apud Euseb. de Præp. Evan. lib. 3. 1 - del (1)

<sup>(</sup>t) Saturnal.

his origin was divine. Apis is feldom generated, nor ever according to the usual laws of nature. The Egyptians affirm it is by celeftial fire (u). Plutarch explains this passage. The priests pretend the Moon sheds a gene-" rative light, with which should a cow, wanting the bull, be ftruck she conceives " Apis, and he bears the figns of that planet " (x)." Herodotus in Euterpe fays the fame. Such were the fables the priests taught, and the vulgar, to whom this god was the presage of Plenty, eagerly received, and blindly believed them. Pliny has described the marks of the sacred ox. "A white spot, like a crescent, on the " right fide, and a swelling under the tongue, distinguished Apis (y)." When the cow, supposed to be impregnated by lunar rays, brought forth, the priests went to examine the calf, and, if thus marked, they proclaimed the birth of Apis and fertility. " An edifice was built for the new god, facing " the rifing fun, according to the precepts of " Hermes, where he was fed, four months, " with milk; after which the priests went in

<sup>(</sup>u) Pomp. Mela, lib. 1.

<sup>(</sup>x) Plut. de Iside et Ofiride.

<sup>(</sup>y) Plin. lib. 8. Confirmed by Ælian, lib. 11.

" pomp to his abode, and faluted him by the " name of Apis (z)." They then placed him in a veffel, magnificently ornamented, covered with a rich carpet, and sparkling with gold, and conducted him to Nilopolis, finging hymns and burning incense. Here they kept him forty days (a), during which women, only, had permission to see and salute him in a manner I shall not relate, but which is proved from good authority: while he lived they were no more admitted into his presence. Having been inaugurated, in this city, the fame procession, with inumerable boats, took the god to Memphis (b), where, all ceremonies ending, he became wholly facred (c). Apis had a stately dwelling, and the place where he lay was mystically called the bed\*. Strabo (d) visited, and thus described his palace. " The edifice where " Apis remains is near the temple of Vulcan.

"He is fed in a holy apartment, before which is a grand court. The cow, his

(z) Ælian. Hist. Animal. lib. 11.

- (a) Diod. Sic. lib. 2. Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. 3.
- (8) Ammian. Marcellin.

(c) Plin. lib. 8.

\* The Latin reads thalamus, chamber, T.

(d) Lib. 17.

" dam,

dam, is kept in a house on one of its sides; and, sometimes, to gratify the curiosity of frangers, he is brought out, into this court. He may always be seen through a window; but the priests also show him to the public." Solinus says they once a year present him a heiser, which they put to death on the same day.

An ox, thus marvellously procreated, neceffarily had fupernatural knowledge. Thus the priests affirmed he foretold the future, by his gestures, motions, and other modes, which they interpreted according to their fancies. " Apis has two temples, called beds, " (thalamos) which serve as oracles to the " people. If, when confulted, he enters " the one, the prediction is favourable; and " the reverse, if the other. He gives answers " to individuals, by taking food from their " hands; this he refused from the hand of "Germanicus, who died foon after (e)." It were unjust to imagine this respectable writer had faith in fuch predictions; he gives the opinions of the Egyptians, and only cites facts, without speaking his own sentiments.

(e) Plin. lib. 8.

We also learn (f) that, during the abode of Eudoxus the Astronomer in Egypt, Apis seemed to lick the hem of his garment, and the priests foretold he would become famous, but that his career would be short. Various historians relate that children, playing round the sacred ox, suddenly selt themselves inspired, foresaw the suture, and unveiled its events. Thus powerful is superstition over the mind of man, who, yet, is vain of his penetration.

I have spoken of the installation of Apis. His birth is annually celebrated, for the space of a week (g). The people assemble to offer him sacrifices, and, what may seem surprising, they immolate oxen (b). This solemnity passes not without a miracle. Ammianus Marcellinus, who collected the opinions of the ancients, says, during the seven days when the priests celebrated the birth of Apis, crocodiles, forgetting their natural serocity, became tame, and did harm to no one (i).

<sup>(</sup>f) Diog. Laer. lib. 7.

<sup>(</sup>g) Nicetas.

<sup>(</sup>h) Herod. lib. 2.

<sup>(</sup>i) Lib. 22 Solinus too cites this opinion.

Yet could not this ox, so honoured, pass the miraculous term affixed to his days. "Apis cannot live more than a certain num-

- " ber of years; which ended, they drown
- "him in the fountain of the priests (k)." Ammianus Marcellinus adds, he is not permitted to live beyond the period which the sacred books prescribe; and, when this happens, they embalm, and, secretly, entomb him, in caverns destined for that purpose. The priests, in this case, proclaim he has disappeared; but, when he dies, naturally, before this epocha, they publish his death,
- Serapis. "There was an ancient temple of "Serapis, at Memphis, which strangers were

and foleranly bear his body to the temple of

- " forbidden to approach; the priefts them-
- " felves only entering when they entombed
- "Apis (1)" " At this time, they opened
- " the gates called Lethe and Cocytus (or for-
- " getfulness and lamentation) which gave a
- " loud and grating found (m)."
  - (k) Plin. lib. 8.
    - (1) Paufanias.
- (m) Plut. de Iside et Osiride. These gates were those of the temple of Serapis.

Ammianus

fcribe, with energy, the universal affliction of of the Egyptians, who called on Heaven, with cries and groans, for another Apis. Lucian represents it very pleasantly. "Is "there any one, when Apis dies, sufficiently "enamoured of his long hair not immediately to cut it off, and impress tokens of his grief on his shaved pate?"

It is important to know the term prefcribed to the days of Apis, because it will shew the intention of the priests in establishing this symbolical deity; and Plutarch, here, affords us some information. " The " number five, multiplied by itself, is equal " to the letters of the Egyptian alphabet, " and the years of Apis (n)." You know, Sir, the number twenty five indicated a period of the Sun and Moon, to which this ox was confecrated. Syncellus, in his Chronographia, speaking of the thirty-second Egyptian king, named Afeth, fays, "The folar year " contained only 360 days, before Aseth, " who added five to make it compleat. In " his reign, a calf was raifed to the rank of

<sup>(</sup>n) Plut. de Iside et Osiride.

<sup>&</sup>quot; the

" the gods, and named Apis". The following passage yields us still farther intelligence.

" It was customary to inaugurate the Kings of

" Egypt, at Memphis, in the temple of Apis,

" where they were first initiated in the mysteries,

" and received the religious garb, after which

" they were permitted to bear the yoke of the

" deity, through the town, to a place named

" the Sanctuary, which the profane were

" forbidden to enter. There they were

" obliged to fwear they would add neither

" month nor day to the year, but that it

" should confist of 365 days, according to an-

" cient establishment (o)."

This will authorise us to suppose Apis a tutelary deity of the new form given to the solar year, and of the cycle of twenty five years, discovered at the same time; nor may we doubt but that Apis intimately referred to the increase of the Nile, it being attested by many historians. The period of this increase was the new moon after the Summer solstice, on which all eyes were fixed. Pliny says (p), Apis had a white mark, on the

<sup>(0)</sup> Fabricius Biblioth. Lat.

<sup>(</sup>p) Lib. 8.

right fide, in the form of a crescent; which mark, adds Ælian (q), fignified the commencement of the inundation; which authorities are confirmed by Ammianus Marcellinus. If Apis possessed these characteristic signs, which proved his origin divine, fertility and abundance were promifed. It, therefore, feems evident this facred ox, the guardian of the folar year, was also held to be the presiding genius of the inundation. The priests, by limiting his life to twenty five years, and making the installation of the new Apis concur with the renewal of this period, probably, had perceived, from long meteorological obfervations, this revolution continually brought years of abundance: no means could be more certain of obtaining respect from the people, toward this emblematic deity, fince his birth promised a fortunate inundation, and all the treasures of fecundity.

The folemnity of his inauguration was called apparition. That which was annually renewed, about the twelfth or thirteenth of the month Payn, corresponding to the feventeenth or eighteenth of June, was named the voured to prove Apis was a grahol of the parageh Inleph which opinion it dil leminA shiff (p) is emdicion.

birth of Apis, a festival which Ælian thus describes. "What banquetting, what sa"crifices, does the commencement of the 
inundation occasion in Egypt! The people 
all celebrate the birth of Apis. To describe 
the dances, rejoicing, shews, and feasts, 
among the Egyptians, at this time, would 
be tedious; and to express the intoxication 
of joy, throughout every city, impossible (r)."

The name of this revered ox may add farther light to these remarks. Api, in Egyptian, signifies number (s) measure, which epithet is peculiarly characteristic of an animal designed to guard the solar year, to be the type of the cycle of twenty-five years, and the presage of a favorable inundation (t).

I have the honour to be, &c,

### LETTER

(r) Ælian. Hift. Animal.

mobom

(s) Jablonski Panth. Egypt. tom. II.

(t) The Bishop of Avranches, M. Huet, has endeavoured to prove Apis was a symbol of the patriarch Joseph, which opinion he has supported with all his erudition.

Seduced

birth of Agis, a without to ich which they then desiribes, " What banquenier, where the

#### LETTER XXXI.

tions in a met with the

#### OF MNEVIS AND ONUPHIS.

Mnevis and Onuphis facred bulls. The first worshipped from antiquity too remote for the origin of this worship to be discovered; the second, kept in the Temple of Apollo, at Hermunthis, was not very famous, if we may judge from the silence of historians; the celebrity of Apis occasioned them both to be forgotten.

#### To M. L. M.

Grand Cairo.

MNEVIS and Onuphis were two bulls confecrated to the Sun; the first was the tutelar deity of Heliopolis: the second, kept in the temple of Apollo at Hermunthis, the

Seduced by authority so great, some authors have adopted this system, which I have not thought necessary, seriously, to oppose, it being self destructive, and only proving how far prejudice may lead the most learned man astray, who is not guided by sound reason, and an impartial judgment.

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modern

modern Armant, related to the increase of the Nile. " At the city of Heliopolis (u), " built on an artificial mount, was the " temple of the Sun, where Mnevis was \* kept, in a facred inclosure, and held by " the citizens to be a god." The ancients concur in confirming this bull was confecrated to the Sun (x); though the time of this confecration is too remote to be known. being much more antient than that of Apis. M. de Vignoles (y) places it under Menes, the first of the Pharaohs; but this opinion, unsupported by history, must be regarded as conjecture. We have a right to suppose, however, it preceded the departure of the Israelites, who, accustomed to Egyptian idolatry, cast a golden calf, in the desert, to ferve them as a guide. The worship of Mnevis declined when Apis, confecrated to more important events, became the general deity; and Macrobius (2) informs us Mnevis held only the fecond rank among the facred

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<sup>(2)</sup> Strabo, lib. 17.

<sup>(</sup>u) Strabo, lib. 17.
(x) Diod. Sic. lib. 1. Ælian Hift. Animal. lib. 11.
Porphyr apud Eufeb. Præp. Evan. lib. 3.

<sup>(</sup>y) Chronologie, tom. II.

<sup>(</sup>z) Saturn. lib. I.

bulls; nor was any thing remarkable related of him, according to Ammianus Marcel tinus (a) . souse same eserves ous to

We learn from Strabo (6), that Cambyles, the fcourge of Egypt, deffroyed the fately temple of Heliopolis; after which, we may suppose, the worship of Mnevis fell to decay. Jablonski interprets his name to fignify dedicated to the Sun (c). At Hermunthis, where there was a Nilometer, a bull was worthipped; called Onuphis (d), the good genius, because he was honoured as the type of abundance. The priests kept him in the magnificent temple of Apollo, which I have deferibed, in the fifth Letter of vol. H. At the farther end of one of the apartments are still to be feen two marble oxen, furrounded by women fuckling their children. Here, no doubt. they celebrated, in his honor, the customary festivals, at the birth of Apis; but this city was less considerable than Memphis, which became the Metropolis, after the Kings of Thebes had thither transported the seat of

II convire.

<sup>(</sup>a) Lib. 22.

<sup>(</sup>b) Lib. 17.

Deriving it from Musein. (c) Tom. II.

<sup>(</sup>d) Jablon. Panth. Ægypt. toin. II. LETTE

empire. Onuphis was not so famous as Apis: this is the reason why he is not mentioned by the antients, except Strabo, Macrobius, and Ælian (e). Such, Sir, were the bulls the priests consecrated to preserve the memory of their discoveries, and which the vulgar adored as deities. The Egyptians, from the remotest ages, confecrated the ox, as the fymbol of fruitfulness; in which they were imitated by the Greeks. In after times, the horn, only, of that animal was depicted, filled with ears of corn, and fruits; and the cornucopia became emblematically famous among the poets. Thus have most ancient customs originated in Egypt.

I have the honour to be, &c.

and the contract of the contra are receipted, in his hanor, the enclosure,

be able the Aleropolis after the Kings, at

have funking the other terreitman, of which

eds beding he day of the world than t oft or ion English of the family

mWot III Dd. LETTER inundation. "The people of Egypt measure the increase of the Nile by cubits (f)."—
"Some HXXXX's a Aria Terapia and Jupiter are the same; others that he represents the represents the represents the represents the representation of the inundation of the inundation of the inundation of the inundation of the inundation."

The terrestrial Serapis was a deity which, the Egyptians supposed, presided over the increase of the waters. The Nilometer, divided into cubits, was his type, and a sessival was held in his bonder, when the inundation began. The priests took the Nilometer from the sanctuary, at the increase of the waters, and there, again, inclosed it, at the decrease, ambied they named Sari Api, the column of measures. This was the origin of the em-

"The Egyptian Mgiye Me afory of watering their fields to Serapis (i)." Ib, 12.

The Egyptians, Sir, had two deities named Serapis; the one celestial, of which I have spoken, the other terrestrial, of which I shall now speak. The first fignified the Sun, in Autumn; the second related to the inundation.

inundation. "The people of Egypt measure " the increase of the Nile by cubits (f)."-" Some authors affirm Serapis and Jupiter " are the fame; others that he represents " the Nile, because he bears a buffel and a " cubit in his hand, emblems of the inundation (g)." These different opinions were both right. The celestial Scrapis, as an emblem of the Sun, might be called Jupiter; the other was supposed to preside over the flooding of the river. Thus the rhetorician Aristides, in his oration on Serapis, calls him the god who, during Summer, makes the waters increase, and the tempests calm. On this point antient Pagan and Christian authors agree. "To Scrapis they attribute " that virtue in the Nile which imparts " riches and fertility to Egypt (b)."-" The Egyptians give the glory of watering " their fields to Serapis (i)."

Let us enquire what was the origin of this deity, which, perhaps, we may find by

named Scrapis; the one celeftial, of which I have tooken, the grand the celeftial took and the line of the celeftial spot of sabiud (3)

I shall now speak on his Ecclesian (4)e

Sun, an Autumn idilitational this assure of the

collecting the scattered rays of light history affords no We have feen the Egyptians over attentive to what might aftertain the progress of the inundation, confiructed various Nilo meters in different parts of the kingdom; as in the illand of Elephanting plat Hermunthis (k), the modern Armant, Memphis, and as far as lower Egypt. They were, at first, fatisfied with finking a chamber, the floor of which was on a level with the bed of the river, and tracing lines, on the walls de measure the height of the water and They afterward raised a column in the centre of this chambery which they divided into calbits and inches This Nilometer they called Sari Api, the column of meature (1) 1817 This place became facred, and the prieffs, in whom all their frience centered, only might enter it, whose observations and discoveries, written in facerdotal characters guided their face ceffors. Enlightened by meteorological tables, kept for ages with increasing perfections into the Pagan temples, but placed in the

(k) Described by Heliodorus, liberty. 200 (1).

(1) Thus are these Egyptian words interpreted by Jablonski, tom. II, from which the Greeks have formed Serapis.

shurches.

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from

from this fanctuary they predicted all the phienomena of the inundation/long before they happened ... Rolleffors of this important ichowledge, they announced abundance or Recilitys and were regarded by the people as oracles! That their prognofications might be more revered, they rastributed them to Scrapis, under whose divine protection they put the column of megfure. Knowing the utilgar require fensible images, they formed a Nilometer of wood, which was the emblem of Berapis, and to which they attributed divine virtue: this they folerally bore at the feelts of Apis "It was the cultum to carry tivibe measure of the Nile into the temple of Serapis as the author of the inundation? Which Milometen was, afterward, deposited in the church, to render homige to the 19 Lord of waters (m) ." Sozomen adds, this change happened under the reign of Con-Statitud (2), after which the measure of the increase of the river was no more borne into the Pagan temples, but placed in the but because the characteristic for Holy

<sup>(</sup>h) Ruffin. Hill: Ecclefialt. Jib. 2d. are ship. (h) (h) Thurst committee (h) Sozomen. Hill: Ecclefialt. Hill: Hill: Serapis.

churches. Julian (9), the Apostate, re-established things in their former state, but The odoffus destroyed the magnificent temple of Serapis, at Alexandria, and abolished this superstitious ceremony. These authors, and many more whom, were it needful, I might cite, prove the Egyptian priests first called the Nilometer Serapis, the column of mean fure, which name they gave to the god under whose protection they placed it, and to whom they attributed a power of making the waters increase, and the symbol of whom they, afterward, bore in their folemn feafts; thus abusing their knowledge to the encourage. ment of idolatry, and to render themselves respectable in the eyes of the people. I swelled

An Alexandrian coin is preserved, on one side of which the Nile reclines, depicted as an aged man, bearing a bushel on his head, and holding a cornucopia in one hand, and, in the other, a slip of the papyrus, with this inscription, To the Nile, Holy God; on the reverse is the head of Serapis, bearing a bushel, and this legend, To Serapis, Holy God (p\*).

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TETTER.

I shall

<sup>(</sup>e) Sozomen. Hift. Ecclefiaft. lib. 4.

<sup>(</sup>p\*) Pignorii Mensa Isiaca.

hall not, like Jabloniki, dwell on the fituation of the antient temple of Serapis, which appears to me of little confequence, but hall just oblerve, Sir, this learned man, to whom I render homage, and whose most estimable enquiries have aided me greatly, is deceived, wheh he places this edifice in the ifle of Rapuda, where the present Mekias is fittlated, the only remaining one of the numercus Nilometers of Egypt. " Thight fend your a long differention on this lubject, and add to the knowledge of the place the teffici muny of the antients, but I fear to abuile your patience, my purpose was to discover the origin of the terrestrial Serapis, which I respectable in the beanife diosas sould in electable An Alexandrian Coin is preferved, on one

fide of which the Nile reclines depicted as an aged man, bearing a bulbel on his head, and holding a cornucopia in one hand, and, in the other, a flip of the papyrus, with this infeription, To the Nile, H ly God; on the reverte is the head of Serapis, bearing a buthel, and this legend, To Serapis, Holy God (p\*),

(e) Sozonorn. Hift Ecclefiaft. fib. 4.

(p\*) Pignorii Menla latenati

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Dd4 LETTER

of artion, as humans body (2); wherefore Virgiliand Quid, split him the barker Anubis valled a signification what specified on all subjects that, tall boneath his notice, and

whe, in his farcatins, spared neither heroes no YTIEC HARLINGENEE ActioNA FOOL

Anubis had temples, priests, and a city built in bis honour: his statue hore a dog's head, which animal, his living image, was confecrated to him: represented the Horizon, wherefore, was held to be the inseparable companion of Iss and Osiris, and called their illegitimate son; because, not luminous himself, he shone only with borrowed light, and add

pompi and conferrated the dog to him, as his living embed. MAThbis is revered in

the city of the dogs, the capital of the

ANUBIS regarded in Egypt as the faithful companion of Is and Osiris, received divine honours, had temples confecrated to him, and priests, and his image was borne in all religious ceremonies. Lucian makes Socrates say, "See you not with what respect "the Egyptians adore the god Anubis?" His statue was emblematic, having the head of

3 b C

LETT Fever

of a dog, on a human body (p); wherefore Virgil and Ovid call him the barker Anubie (9). Incian, whose wit is exercised on all Inbjects that fall beneath his notice, and who, in his farcasms, spared neither heroes nor gods, makes Momus speak thus ! Oh " thou, whom Egypt represents with the head of a dog, speak, who are thou? And, fince thou barkeft, wherefore hast thou fuffered them to place thee among mile immortals?

Slocypopolis (r), now Minich, fituated in the lower Thebais, was built in Honour of Annibis. His temple no longer fubfifts, where the priofts celebrated his festivals with great pomp, and confecrated the dog to him, as his living emblem. MAnubis is revered in " the city of the dogs, the capital of the "Cynopolitan Præfecture, where those aniof mals are fed with facred food, and religion has appointed them worthip (s)." An event, related by Plutarch, formewhat, howand prieffs, and his, image was

Socrates 12. dil. Acromote dil. Sicrates 12. del (1) Les Socrates 12. del Metamorph. (2) Lind (2) Cocrates 12. del Cocrates 13. del Cocrates 1

<sup>(1)</sup> Strabo, lib. 17. Stephanus Byzantinus adds Cyno. polis is a trity of Egypt, where Anubis is adored, fi aiH

every diferedited them in the minds of the people Cambyles having killed the god Apis, and cast his body in a field, all animals respected him, except the dog, which eat his flesh withis impicty diminished the venerations in which dogs had been held, both abutiod "

b Cynopolis was not the only city that buent' incense on the alters of Anubis ; henhad chapels in most of the temples, which occafioned Juvenal to fay, how many cities venerate the dog (t) ... His image always accome panied those of Isis and Oficis, in their folerm feafts, and, Rome having adopted the ceremonies of Egypt, the Emperor Commodus (w), celebrating the Isiac festivals, had his head flaved, and bore, himfelf, the gods Anubis. His statue was of gold, ror gilt, as well as the accompanying emblematic attributes. In this the antients agree, and Luciany relating the crime committed by a Syrian flave, confirms their opinion : this flave, fays he, joined forme facrilegious robbers, who,A entering the fanctuary of Anubis, stole the god, two vales, and the golden caduceus, with cynocephali of filver. The very name (y) De Hide et Ofride,

<sup>(</sup>t) Sat. 15.

<sup>(</sup>u) Lamprid. cap. 9. Spartian cites the same fact.

of Anubis fignifies gilded (a). In It was myfperious, and the priests, as we shall fee, did not bestow it without a reason! has been sigh

Platareh will inform us what this emblematical deity meant. The circle which " bounds and divides the two hemispheres. " and, therefore, is called horizon, is named BAnubis, and is pictured in the form of a " dog because that animal watches day and " night." (y) Clemens Alexandrinus, well instructed in the mystical theology of Egypt, favours this explanation. The two dogs " (the two Anubis) are fymbols of the two 's hemispheres, which surround the terrefa-"trial globe" (2). In another place, he adds, fome pretend that these animals, the faithful guardians of men, are types of the tropics, which, like centinels, watch the funcon the morth and fouthe all side at legging

alf, Sir, we adopt the first of these interpretations, we shall find the priests, regarding Anubis as the horizon, gilded his statue to

chtering the finchulry of (x) Jablonski Panth. Ægypt. tom. II. says Anubis comes from Nub, gold, and from Annub, gilded, whence the Greeks have derived Anubis.

<sup>(</sup>y) De Ifide et Ofiride. standicate. cap. 9. Spartian cutes the lame lact. (s)

indicate that this circle, first regeiving the hin's tays, feemed, at his rising glittering with brightness, and, when he set, reflected his last beams upon the earth. They called Anubis the fon of Ofiris, but illegitimate, in their facred fables, for he only returned a borrowed light to the earth, and might not like Horus, be regarded as the father, of days or the lawful fon of Otiris. We may add, the visible horizon turning with the sun is his in-

separable companion,

According to the second of these explanations, where Anubis means the tropics, he is also the faithful guardian of Isis and Osi-The course of the sun and moon is included within the Zodiack, wandering neither to the right nor left; which limits, fixed by the author of nature, might, in hieroglyphical language, be typified by a deity with the head of a dog, which should seem to oppose their passage toward the two poles. The first opinion, however, seems to me most natural, and accordant to the ideas of the priests. Ablents Parth. Movet.

You perceive, Sir, those authors who have been pleasant upon the Egyptians either did not speak what they thought, or understood LETTER

not

not their allegories. Anubis, we may reafonably Suppose, was, at first, only a symbol, invented by aftronomers to express their difcoveries. The people, accustomed to see it in their temples, where science was depofited, adored it as a deity; and the priefts favoured their error by connecting it with to ligion. The worthip of Anubis induced that of the dog, his type, and most of the Pagan gods, had this kind of origin. Before men could write they used imitative figures to expreis their ideas, which language was, at first, intelligible to all. Having invented characters which by found might express thought, the people employed these because they might be used with more facility. The hieroglyphics were configned to their fanctuaries, and the priests only preferved their interpretation. These allegorical figns, at length, no more had meaning, in the vulgar apprehension, but, containing the forms of things, became objects of supersting tion.

You perceive, Sir, those aithors who have been pleasant upon the Egyptians either did

not speak what they thought, or understood

LETTER

but the adoration of Typhon was the effect of fear. Thankigivings and offerings were ap-

pointed for the former, this evil genius was to be packtaxxx acar a Tan Avilen those

calamities' which were attributed to him did OF TYPHON, A SYMBOLICAL DELTY on

Typhon, an evil genius; the crocodile and hippopotamus confecrated to bim; bis flatue infulted when those evils did not cease of which he was the supposed author. The priests by this god figured winter, and the fatal effects of the South and South East winds. Their fables concerning Typhon passed into Phanicia, Greece, and Italy; the philosophers and poets of which nations, adding new allegories, introduced his worship. His origin discoverable amid these fables. they desired nietres

probrious epithets and investives, and thrack " WHE any extraordinary heats

66 (corist) base Decamoned pertilential difeates or

his flatue:

HAVE mentioned Typhon before, Sir, because his history is connected with that of all the gods of Egypt. Hitherto you have beheld beneficent deities worthipped, and animals confecrated to the fun, the moon, and the Nile. Gratitude rendered this homage, but

but the adoration of Typhon was the effect of fear. Thanksgivings and offerings were appointed for the former; this evil genius was to be pacified by facrifices; and, when those calamities which were attributed to him did not ceale, his image was infulted. Believing Typhon to be the evil principle, the Egyptians confecrated the crocodile (a) to him, the hippopotamus, and the afs, because of its red colour. These animals, supposed to be agreeable to him, were revered in many cities, and kept in facred inclosures, they imagining such religious attentions would calm the fury of Typhon, whose soul was supposed to animate them. " The Egyptians endeavoured to appeale this evil genius by facrifices (b)". When unsuccessful, at certain festivals, they loaded him with opprobrious epithets and invectives, and struck his statue. "When any extraordinary heats " (a) which occasioned pestilential diseases or

<sup>(</sup>a) Plutarch de Hide et Ofiride Herof lib. 2/ AH

<sup>(</sup>b) Plutarch ubi, sup. Herodotus, in confirmation, says, crocodiles, consecrated to Typhon, were worshipped in certain cities, the Egyptians being persuaded they were animated by his soul. Lib. 2.

mals confecrated to this ind sent spoul (a)

chadroise. Gratitude rendered this homage,

" other calamities happened, the priests took

fome of the animals dedicated to him into

" a dark place, where, by menaces, they

" first endeavoured to terrify them; and, if

" the contagion did not cease, sacrificed them

" to public vengeance".

The purport of these ceremonies was, evidently, to calm the people's fears, and revive their hopes. While they were performing, the ills occasioned by the pestiferous South winds might cease, and the nation, supposing Typhon appealed by facrifices, or intimidased by threats and outrages, would attribute all the glory to the priests.

The word Typhon, according to Jabloniki (d), is derived from Theu, wind, and Phou, pernicious, which interpretation is confirmed by the most ancient authors. " A violently " fcorching wind is called Typhon (e)." Eustathius interprets it a burning wind (f); and Euripides employs the word to express a fcorching whirlwind (g). The ancient Egyp-

tians,

(e) Helychius.

den happines the fit was stagged and (f) Comment. in Iliad.

<sup>(</sup>d) Panth. Egypt. tom. III.

<sup>(</sup>g) Euripid. Phænissæ. This same wind is called burning by Job, chap. 27, breath of fire by the Greeks, Eurus by

tians, to characterise its violence, called it

Apoh, giant.

In the course of these letters, I have, more than once, mentioned its destructive effect; but, however strong my expressions they are still short of the truth. The heavens darkened by dust, which burns the eyes, scorches the entrails, and veils the face of the fun; caravans stifled in the defart; tribes of Arabs extinct in a fingle day; fandy rain sometimes covering the whole furface of Egypt, and forming hills which, rolling from the defert, threaten to overwhelm and bury all living creatures: fuch are the destructive powers of the giant Typhon. Thave read of a tempest (b), from the South, which continued three days and three nights, till the utter ruin of Egypt was apprehended; had it not abated this fine country would have become a fearful wilderness. The priests, to express the fury of Typhon, in their allegoric language fay, he was not born, after the manner of Ofiris

by the Latins, Sem, poison, by the Arabis, and by the modern Egyptians, Merifi, wind of noon, or, more generally, Khamsin.

(g) Europid. Phænifiz. Thisologe . thirt atsahird beay-ing by Loly chap. 27, breath of fire by the Greeks, Europe

WOL II.

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and Horus, but having torn his mother's fide escaped through the opening (i).

Herodotus (k) thus describes two statues which, in his time, stood in the temple of Vulcan, at Memphis. "The one, facing " the North, named Summer, is adored by " the Egyptians, and furrounded by marks " of their respect, and gratitude. The other, " turned Southward, and called Winter, is " very differently treated." The latter is what they whipped with rods, on certain occasions, it representing Typhon. The South wind begins to be felt, in the month of Feb. ruary, and causes the evils I have mentioned; the Etefian winds prevail in Summer, purify the air, and produce the most happy effects. Hence we may fatisfactorily explain the facred fable of the priests, relative to Typhon, which I have, in part, repeated. Plutarch gives it at length, but the leading traits will be here cating him, at Bucis, favet han from trainifful

Ofiris (1) ascended the throne of Egypt, reigned gloriously, and became celebrated for his beneisheence and justice. Travelling the

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were devoured by the fifth L. abirilO to abili de file

Oxyrynchus. Terhans this rait is added a. 2 did (4)c

predigious feeundary of these fash, which sique idu tall (1)

world to do good to men, his brother Typhon, for some time, durst undertake nothing against his interests, because Isis was watchful for the fafety of the kingdom; but, when Ofiris returned from Ethiopia, Typhon, with feventy-two conspirators, inclosed his body in a wooden coffer, and threw it into the Nile. It descended into the Mediterranean, by the Tanitic branch, and was found on the coast of Phenicia, by Isis, and brought back into Egypt: but the usurper, perceiving it by night, the moon being at the full, as he hunted the boar, broke it, divided the body into fourteen parts, and feattered the members over the country. Isis collected and carefully preserved them (m). Typhon, delivered from his enemies, exercifed tyrannical power over Egypt, and, to make the crown fure, endeavoured to kill Horus, the fon of Ofiris, for whom he most carefully fought; but Latona, hiding and educating him, at Butis, faved him from his purfuers, and, becoming firong, he declared war against his father's murderer, and vanquished

his beneincence and, juffice.

placy

<sup>(</sup>m) Except the privities, which, thrown into the river, were devoured by the fish Lepidotus, the Phagrus, and the Oxyrynchus. Perhaps this trait is added to denote the prodigious fecundity of these fish, which became sacred.

and gave him in charge to his mother, loaded with chains. It's fet him at liberty, and Horus, in his anger, took away her crown, combated the tyrant again, and, after conquering him a fecond time, reigned in peace and glory.

A few remarks will suffice to explain this fable, which, in part, explains itself. Officis is the general name of the sun, which bestows its benefits over the whole earth, and particularly, manifests its power in Egypt. His return from Ethiopia signifies the time when, coming from the tropic of Capricorn, he once more proceeds toward the equator, and passes through the Winter signs; during which season the South wind predominates. The seventy-two conspirators (n) signify the days during which it usually blows. This epocha is the death of Osiris and the triumph

(n) The time when the South wind is most usual, at present, is called Khamsin, or fifty, but neither this number, nor seventy-two precisely mark its duration, that being variable. This period therefore may be denoted by the nearest number, and seventy-two appears to me the most exact. I have before observed this wind rarely continues blowing more than three days together, otherwise it would render Egypt uninhabitable.

of Typhon. Horus, educated near the lake Butis, according to the Egyptians, depicted the fun attracting beneficent vapours to return them back in dews: his increasing strength: and victory over the tyrant indicate his entrance into the Summer figns; and the Etefian winds, which begin to repel the South storms. Typhon, released by Isis, informs us this evil returns, fometimes, towards the end of June, especially at the full of the moon (o). But the fun, being come to the tropic of Cancer, the North wind recovers its power, refreshes the air, expels contagion, drives the clouds towards the high fummits of the Abyffinian mountains, and swells the Nile by the rains which, thence, descend in torrents. This is the glorious reign of Horus.

South winds drive back the clouds, toward the North, which should occasion the overslowing of the river, and the country is in danger of barrenness. As this ofteness happens during the full moon, the priests say Horus, in wrath against Isis for having set Typhon at liberty, takes away her crown, and is obliged to combat the tyrant anew, over whom he remains victor: that is to say, the moon in conjunction, and journeying by day, with the sun, has lost her light; and the North wind then gains the ascendant.

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The Greeks, disciples of the Egyptians, eagerly adopted these allegories, in their Theogony; gave them their colouring, and added new fables. Some changed the name of Typhon into Typhoeus; others retained the antient appellation. Hefiod, in his Theogony, describes him with a hundred dragons heads, projecting from his houlders. Pindar, in his first ode, says he was buried under Mount Etna, whence he discharged his fires. Apollodorus, who lived one hundred and forty years before Christ, describes him thus. The enormous giant Typhon, foaming " with wrath, and bellowing, casts burning "rocks toward heaven, and vomits torrents. " of flames. The gods, beholding him ready to scale Olympus, fled, terrified, " and escaped into Egypt, where, pursued by their enemy, they concealed themselves "under the forms of animals; but Ju-" piter, perceiving Typhon afar off, struck " him with thunder, and buried him under "Mount Etna". Hyginus, in his fables, adds, the mountain hath ever fince fent forth The Latins succeeded, and imitated their predecessors. Ovid thus relates the gistanting in the fign of the ram.

(q. ) Ovid, Metan, the 3-

ants war. "Typhoeus, sprung from the "earth's entrails, terrified the heavens, and "forced the immortals to fly. Egypt, and "the shores of the Nile, samous for its "feven mouths, gave them asylum. The "dreadful sons of the earth followed, to established whose sury they were obliged to suffer "a metamorphosis. Jupiter became a shep-"herd, wherefore his statue is still represented "with horns (p), Apollo a crow, Bacchus "a goat, Isis a cat, Juno a white cow, Venus "a fish, and Mercury an ibis (q\*)."

This truth, wandering from its original fource, and passing from one nation to another, becomes obscure, and searely to be discovered, and thus succeeding poets, employing the same sables to decorate their verse, adopt words the sense of which they do not understand. The Greeks and Latins evidently, however, were desirous of explaining the adoration paid to various animals in Egypt, and seigned the gods assumed their forms to escape the pursuit of Typhon. This error

<sup>(</sup>p) It is not necessary, here, to note, how far the Latin poet departs from truth. The statue of Ammon is represented with horns, because this symbolical deity denoted the sun in the sign of the ram.

<sup>(</sup>q\*) Ovid. Metam. lib. 3.

has lately been revived by the learned Warburton, but is not, therefore, more credited. Herodotus and the ancients wrote nothing like this. Hyginus, in his fables, on the contrary, affirms, "The Egyptians suffered "no violence to be done to animals, be"cause they held them to be the image of the gods." They consecrated them, either in gratitude for benefits received, or to preserve the memory of important discoveries, and honoured them as the living types of their deities.

The priests relate the tragical death of Typhon very differently, whom they drown in the waters of a pestilential lake. "The lake Sirbon, in which Typhon is said to be buried, is near Pelusium (q)" and, according to Plutarch (r), the Egyptians called it the breath of Typhon. This lake, and its vapours, so injurious to the salubrity of Pelusium, is now no more to be found; as well as many others, it is filled up with sand.

The fable of Adonis seems to have been imitated from that of Osiris. Macrobius who, with wonderful sagacity, has explained

LETERK

<sup>(9)</sup> Eustath. Comment. in Dionys. Perieget.

<sup>(</sup>r) De Iside et Ofiride.

the mysteries of ancient religions, says,-At-" tentively confidering the Affyrian religion, " we cannot doubt but that Adonis fignifies " the fun. Philosophers have called the up-" per hemisphere, a part of which we in-" habit, Venus. Regarding the boar as the " fymbol of Winter, because he loves marshy " and frozen places, they figured this animal "to have killed Adonis. Winter, there-" fore, which diminishes light, and the fun's "heat, is the wound of Adonis (s)". I need not point out the refemblance between this fable and that of the Egyptians. Winter, in both, makes the country defolate, and causes the sun's death. This mysterious language is embellished by the Greeks, whose poetry, full of grace, nature, and feeling, harmoniously sings the grief of Venus for her lover. Thus we perceive how an allegory, under the veil of which the phænomena of nature are described, is metamorphosed in passing from Egypt to Phænicia, Greece, and Rome: but, collecting hints from the antients, with judgment, we again discover it, nearly, as it was first invented longer lutished within . odw

I have the honour to be, &c.

(s) Saturnal, lib. 1.

LETTER

ful when Oficis, deceived by appearances,

# had commerce with her. The crown of

## forgetting, laft with Naphthys, discovered his

Nephthys, the barren wife of Typhon, having commerce with Osiris, became fruitful: signified the sandy plains, which lay between the Nile and the Red Sea, and are greatly exposed to the South East winds. The adultery of Osiris with Nephthys denoted the years when a high flood occasioned the waters to extend so far. Thueri, or Aso, Queen of Ethiopia, the supposed concubine of Typhon, denoted the South-wind, which joining the East, formed the South East, dreaded by the Egyptians for its parching quality, and the torrents of sand it drove over Egypt.

### which betrayed M. L. M. Detroit Office

riodt ka sonttnoo ledt aveg (a) Grand Cairo.

THE priests of Egypt, continuing their allegory, gave Typhon a wife, named Nephthys (t), the fister and rival of Isis; she was struck with barreness, and only became fruit-

<sup>(</sup>t) Plut. de Inde et Ofiride.

ful when Ofiris, deceived by appearances, had commerce with her. The crown of Lotus, which adorned the god, and which he, forgetting, left with Nephthys, discovered his crime. Such is their fable, relative to the wife of Typhon, which we will endeavour to explain.

You recollect, Sir, the Nile was sometimes called Osiris; and Isis, under certain circumstances, signified the plain it inundated: wherefore this goddess was called his lawful wise; and the inundation, in sacerdotal language, their marriage. When the river, in years of extraordinary fertility, overslowed the hills by which it was bounded, Eastward, and spread over the desarts, it made them fruitful, and the sands were covered with the verdure of plants, the most remarkable of which was the Lotus. Here is the crown which betrayed the adultery of Osiris. "The

" Egyptians (u) gave the confines of their

" kingdom, toward the sea, the name of

"Nephthys. When the Nile extends that

" far, they call it the commerce of Ofiris

Arnek with ba-arquilidu .tulf (u) ly became fruit-

<sup>&</sup>quot; with

"with Nephthys, which is announced by the Lotus growing amid the fands." The characteristic word Nephthys, the country exposed to the winds, (x) unveils the natural sense which the priests concealed in fable. All that part of Egypt, from the Nile to the Red Sea, and from Syene to the Mediterranean, not defended by mountains, is greatly exposed to the South-East winds, and, therefore, allegorically, called the barren wife of Typhon, who there wantons at will, and rolls the fands of those vast solitudes over the plains of Egypt.

This evil genius had a concubine, not less dangerous, named Thueri, or Aso, Queen of Ethiopia (y). When Osiris returned from his travels, Typhon, as I have said, instinct him, aided by seventy two conspirators, and Queen Aso. "The Queen Aso, who assisted." Typhon, means the South wind; coming

(x) From Neph and Theu, Egyptian words, Jablonski. Panth. Egypt. Tom III,

(y) Thueri comes from Thures, South wind, Afo, in the ancient Thebaic dialect, fignified Ethiopia: thus the Queen Afo is the wind most usual in Ethiopia, that is the South. Jab. Panth. Egypt. Tom III.

" from Ethiopia. If that repels the etelian

winds, which drive the clouds over that

burning country, it prevents the rain which

" produces the increase of the Nile; and the

" scorching breath of victorious Typhon de-

"vours the fields" (z). Such is the allegory the priests invented concerning the wife and concubine of Typhon, the one representing the sandy desarts which seem abandoned to the fury of the East winds, and the other the storms of the South. When the two winds united (a), Typhon came, accompanied by Nephthys, and Aso; dethroned Osiris, and brought desolation into the rich valley which the Nile waters. These allegoric personages, we perceive, were invented in these early ages, when men were in need of sensible images to make themselves understood. Homer, the poet nearest this antiquity, often expresses himself like the priests of

(z) Plut. de Iside et Osiride.

(a) The South and East winds, blowing both at once, form the South East, which the Egyptians dread most; it being most parching, and driving the greatest quantity of sands. The moment it begins the thermometer rises to above 33 degrees, and, if it continues, to above 36.

Thebes

Thebes and Memphis. Typhon, Nephthys, and Aso are now forgotten in Egypt; but the same winds, known under the general name of Khamsin, continue to occasion the same evils, and to desolate this land of delights.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Canobus, coiled by the certiers of the lower empire Canopus, were the piles of Minchus, who died on the Egyptian from, where his timb was half the place called in Egyptian Cabi Nonh, Land of Gold. It with and Temples built there. Deceived by the name Canobus, the Greeks faid they were bailt in bonaur of him. Rufimus, on a leng field in presently of Canobus was a greek when the the the densy which in temple of Canobus was a greeke which in temple of Canobus was a pricker which was selected was morely an offering to the god of the Nil.

I's M. I. M.

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CANOBUS because tamous under the Ptolemies. It is important, therefore, to esquara value up it has been deined by historians, and what it fignified, according

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Canobus, called by the writers of the lower empire Canopus, was the pilot of Menelaus, who died on the Egyptian shore, where his tomb was built: the place called in Egyptian Cahi Noub, Land of Gold. A City and Temples built there. Deceived by the name Canobus, the Greeks said they were built in honour of him. Russinus, in a long fable, pretends to prove the deity adored in the temple of Canobus was a pitcher, which was merely an offering to the god of the Nile.

## To M. L. M.

Grand Cairo.

CANOBUS became famous under the Ptolemies. It is important, therefore, to enquire what was its origin, why it has been deified by historians, and what it signified, according

according to the Bayptians. Various willers of Greece sand Raly, 2 speaking after Honfer and Hecathans make Menelans land in Egypt, and day that Canobus, the pilot, dying of the bise of and per, had a semple erected to his memory, dadthe thoreids This fact 48 tob well supported to be questioned? they aid that the city of Canobus (b) was afterward built here, in honour of this pilot. Dronyfius Periegetes, Theaking after them, but going beyond them, fays, in the most northers bay of Egypt, is the famous temple of the Spartan Canobus. It would be aftonishing, Sir, had then Egyptians, who, as the Scripture min forms us, held frangers in extreme aversion (Genefis, chap. XLIII), raffer a Greek pilot to the rank of the gods, when we know they never granted other honour to any moreal. Herodotus, who lived many years among the priefts of Heliopolis and Memphis, learned from them that Menelaus, after receiving Helen from King Proteus, rewarded the fervice by depredations, and pillaged the lea

.II coafts

<sup>(</sup>b) In other parts of this work I have called it Canonis pus, in conformity to modern use, but the true name is.

coasts before he set sail (r): nor does he mention Canobus. Is it credible that such ingratitude would have occasioned the Apotheosis of his pilot, contrary, also, to the manners and religion of the Egyptians? Let us, not believe this improbable opinion of Dionysius Periegetes, who is the only profane writer, who grants the honours of a temple to the Spartan.

There were several temples at Canobus (d), the most famous was that of Serapis, the most ancient that of Hercules, built in one of the suburbs (e), which are all antiquity mentions. Strabo (f) describes the temple of Serapis, adorned by the Ptolemies with royal magnificence. They added various

to the rank of the gods, when we know their

<sup>(</sup>c) We cannot doubt the testimony of Herodotus, who, being a Greek, would not have invented a lye injurious to his nation, before whom he read his history; the fact must be well known, in his time, and the love of truth only could render it supportable.

<sup>(</sup>d) Ammianus Marcellinus olib. 22. A mon dolil

<sup>(4)</sup> Herod lib. . has sentitalizated

<sup>(</sup>f) Lib. 17. See Letter III. Vol. I. in which I have described, after Strabo, the ceremonies practised here, and the concourse of people who come from Alexandria, and all parts of Egypt.

edifices in which an academy was formed, where the Belle Lettres, and, particularly, the mysteries of religion and the ancient language of Egypt were taught. Many of the learned flourished here, and Protemy (the geographer) rendered it famous. Is He paffed forty years in the temple of Canobus, during which he studied Astronomy . His " fystem and discoveries are there engraved on columns (g)." Scrapis was the tutelar deity, and his worship, encouraged by the Ptolemies, was propagated in Greece Paufanias (b), travelling this fine country, faw, in the citadel of Corinth, a temple dedicated to the Canobic Serapis. The felences, and the Pythagorean and Platonic Philosophy, were, for ages, cultivated at Canobus; but Theodofius, having destroyed its colleges and temples, a part of human learning was buried under their ruins, and the learned disperfed.

Aristides, the rhetorician, desirous of knowing the origin of the name Canobus, questioned an Egyptian priest, and gives the following account. "I was informed, by

(b) In Corinthiacis.

<sup>(</sup>g) Olympiodori Comment.

"before Menelaus landed, this place was "called Canobus. He demonstrated this "word could not be properly written with "Greek characters, and that it signified "Land of Gold."—"We may well suppose," adds Aristides, "the Egyptians knew their "own history better than Homer and Heca-"tæus." M. de la Croix (i) confirms this testimony. The remains of the Coptic language leave no room to doubt the fidelity of this account; Cahi, a word which, because of its aspiration, could not be written in Greek, signified land; and Noub, gold.

Egypt bore the name of the deities they adored, and that the tomb of Canobus was in a place called Cahinoub, deceived, no doubt, by the similarity of sound, have affirmed this city was built in honour of him, and Dionysius Periegetes has dedicated a temple to him, it is easy to perceive with what truth. The primitive Christians, delighting to ridicule Pagan idolatry, have

(i) Differtation Philologique.

g priett

endeavoured to give this error credit.do.canobus (k) and his wife Eumenouth, were buried on the fea thore, twelve miles from " Alexandria (1), and honoured with divine worthip." Epiphanius is the first author who hazarded this affertion. Ruffinus is more prolix; and, in his usual style, farther from truth. How shall we describe (m) the crimes of superstition at Canobus, where, pretending to fludy the facerdotal " letters (the ancient Egyptian language was "fo called) they publicly professed magic!
"This place, which may be called the
"fource of demons, became more celebrated, " among the Pagans, than Alexandria itself; " nor will it be unfeafonable to reveal the " origin of these monitrous errors. The " Chaldwans were faid to transport the fire, their god, throughout the provinces; de-" fying the gods of other nations to combat, on condition, if he was victor, he mould be adored. The priest of Canobis accepted and a sudones of the priest of th cadides thetworthip of tine dos and an exho VIGAT The exact distance from Alexandria to Aboutir. happened, Clemens Alexandraudona Alleman better acquainter with Ecclefiaft, lib 2 niaupa retted " the highna

"the challenge, and imagined the following "trick. Earthen pitchers are made in Egypt, the substance of which is extremely " porous, and the water filters through it, and purifies itself. Taking one of these, " he closed the pores with wax, and, painting "various figures on it, filled it with water, "and called it his god; placing on its top the head of an ancient statue, faid to be that of the pilot of Menelaus. The Chal-"drans came, the combat began, fire was " lighted around the pitcher, the wax melted, "the water ran through the pores, and ex-"tinguished the fire. The fraud of the "priest made the god of Canobus victor, " and his image has ever fince been repre-"fented with short feet, a narrow neck, a " belly and back round, like a pitcher, and "in this form is adored as the conqueror of " all gods. the gods of other nation

I know not where Ruffinus found this fable, for he cites no authorities; but it is too puerile to need refutation. It plainly contradicts the worship of the Egyptians, who never adored water. Had this combat really happened, Clemens Alexandrinus, who was better acquainted with the religion of Alex-

Ff3

andria

andria than the priefts of Aquileia, would not have forgotten it; but this tale may lead to the discovery of some truth. The Egyptians, from the remotest ages, have fabricated precious earthen vessels, through which the water is filtered and clarified; the Greeks called them Bauxaxion, the Arabs Bardak. This was an interesting invention, where, during five months of the year, the Nile is defiled by fand, mud, and infects. The water, before it is drank, is left to fettle in large jars, into which the powder of pounded almonds is thrown, and the heterogeneous particles fink, in a few hours; but, to render it more agreeable, it is exposed to the north wind, at the window, in Bardaks. It oozes through the pores, and, being continually ripled by the refreshing breath of the north, it contracts a coolness most delicious in a climate fo fultry. Poor and rich drink, with a kind of voluptuousness, water which has been in these vases. The art of making them was, therefore, a precious discovery for Egypt. The ancients, who made this difcovery, felt its importance, and, as a mark of gratitude to the god of the Nile, confecrated one of these pitchers, in the temple of Serapis,

Serapis, at Canobus. This offering Ruffinus, affifted by fable, endeavours to pais for a god. There are various proofs of what advance. A coin, struck in the time of Adrian, by the inhabitants of Canobus, bears one of these vases, with a serpent wound round the mouth (n). This figure is known to be the emblem of Cneph, the good genius, and, in a more extensive sense, the Author of Nature. A canal, which is cut from the river, and falls into the fea, near Canobus, was called Agathodaimon (o), the Good Genius, doubtless, because it approached a city where the people worshipped Serapis, and the priests the Supreme Being. It is natural to suppose, therefore, the pitcher deposited in his temple was merely a mark of homage to his beneficence (p): like consecrations are found in many of the Egyptian monuments.

Serabis.

<sup>(</sup>n) Cotelerii Monumenta, tom. I. viilui ol mamile

a kind of voluptuountels, Adargoso Viore

<sup>(</sup>p) Among the curiofities which M. Dombei, who has travelled South-America nine years, brought to France, I remarked vases, taken from the tombs of the Peruvians, very fimilar to those found in the caverns of Saccara; and golden idols, like what the Arabs get from the mummies, which their cupidity induces them to fearch and deftroy.

facrifice, engraved on the rock near Babain, to Jupiter Ammon, or the Sun of Spring, has seven vases of this kind, which bear the three piles on which the immolated lambs lye. Obelisks were symbols of the Sun's rays, and their shadows indicated his course while above the horizon. These facts all attest the Egyptians carefully consecrated their inventions to the gods. The name Cahinoub, Land of Gold, bestowed on the country the clay of which was the properest for the composition of the pitchers through which the water was sistered, teaches us with what reason the pitests offered one to the gods, in the very place where they were fabricated, and where, perhaps, they had been invented.

I have the honour to be, &c.

TO M L M.

Grand Cairo

HAVING given some account of the principal Egyptian deities, I shall next speak of Thoth, or the famous personage who received the homage of antiquity, and was held to be the inventor of almost all human start as a start of the same of the same of the same start as the same start as a start as a start of the same start as a start of the same start as a start as

facrifice, engraved on the rock near Babain, to Jupiter Ammon, or the Sun of Spring, has feven vares of this kind, a high bear the three piles on which the immolated lambs lyes Obelifies were fymbols of the Sun's rays, and yTIEC LASILORMYS A ,HTOHT TO their thadows indicated his course while above Thoth beld to be a famous and extraordinary man, by many writers, who attributed to him the invention of all arts, sciences, and buman infitutions, and called him Triff notification, thrice Great. This demonstrates This demonstrates the personage to be allegoric. Thoth fignifies column, in Egyptian, and approved works, being engraved on columns, were all, generally, The three Thoths, or Mer-

To M. L. M.

perfection of buman knowledge.

curies, may indicate the birth, progress, and

nave the honour to be

called Thoth.

Grand Cairo.

HAVING given some account of the principal Egyptian deities, I shall next speak of Thoth, or the famous personage who received the homage of antiquity, and was held to be the inventor of almost all human science. LETTER

science. His existence is placed in ages so distant, that it is next to impossible to obtain information on fubjects fo concealed by the darkness of time. Plato, who wrote two thousand years ago, and had been instructed in the priest's school, at Heliopolis, knew not himself what judgment to form of Thoth, then too antient to discover his origin, "Theuth," for fo he calls him, " invented " letters, distinguished vowels from confonants, and mutes from liquids, a discovery " which should make him regarded as a god, " or a divine man. Fame fays he lived in " Egypt." Amid this incertitude, the most prudent method will be to faithfully cite, and impartially examine, passages from the antients. For flood aid T

Thoth was differently named by different people. "The Greeks, says Philo of Biblos, "(q) gave the name of Hermes, or Mer"cury, to Taaout, whom the Egyptians "call Thoith, and the Alexandrians Thoth." Historians agree in attributing to him the invention of most arts. "Thoth lived in the "memotest ages, and, though a man, pos-

related

<sup>(9)</sup> Euseb. Præp. Evan. dib. 17 bei (1)

<sup>&</sup>quot; feffed

" fessed all sciences, which obtained him the " furname of Trifmogiftus, thrice great " (r)." He divided discourses into several parts (s), first named many things, invented numbers (t), and measures, and formed arithmetic into a fystem (u). The Egyptians fay he taught them geometry, a science absolutely necessary to them, aftronomy, and aftrology and add that, having observed the nature and harmony of founds, he formed the lyre. Clemens Alexandrinus (x) mentions the code of laws, confided to the guard of the priefts, and Alian describes it under the denomination of the Code of Mercury (Thoth). The creation of theology, the establishment of religious worship, and the order of facrifices are also attributed to him (y). This doctrine was contained in the books of Mercury, deposited in the temples, where the priests found all that es (4) gave the namelof Hermes, or Mer-

beliet.

vention of molt at

<sup>(</sup>r) Lagantius, lib. 1. dv Googa Tor vara

<sup>(5)</sup> Diodorus, Plato, and Eusebius, affirm he invented letters, and first wrote books.

<sup>(</sup>t, Plato in Phædro.

<sup>(</sup>u) Diod. Sic. lib. 1.

<sup>(</sup>x) Stroma. 6. Cicero (de Natura Deorum) and Lactantius say he gave laws to the Egyptians.

<sup>(</sup>y) Diod. Sic. dib. asvH., garl. debal (v)

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related to religion. Diodorus farther adds the Egyptians affirmed arts, sciences, and institutions were invented by Thoth, or Mercury. The ment of the

If we reflect on the nature of the mind, which flowly proceeds from Truth so struth, and examine the annals of history we find but a small number, who possess creative genius, existing from time to time on the earth, and announcing to man fome few important discoveries. Platon an enlightened judge, fimply confidering Thoth as the inventor of letters and writing, called him a god, on a divine man; we are therefore obliged to think this personage, on whom universal knowledge is bestowed, never had existence is but that the learned of a nation which feems to have approached the origin of mankind have published, in his name, the knowledge they had acquired, during thousands and thousands of years. This reasonable supposition is confirmed by the authority of many great men. Iamblichus, in his Egyptian Mysteries, makes Abamon, a priest of Egypt, speak thus; We rightly regard Mercury, the god of " eloquence, as the common deity of priests; " for it is the same mind which presides over . eel . " the

the true delence of religion, therefore, our sidencestors, oddedicating their works, where their works, where their works, which wildow, to him, adorned them with the name of Mercury."

be there Egyptian books were published under the name of Thoth, or Mercury. Galen, who learned science in the academy of Alexandria, teaches us how this was practifed. All discoveries, made in Egypt, must be marked by the scal of the approbation of the columns (2), without the author's chercolumns (2), without the author's hame, and deposited in the sanctuaries. Hence the prodigious number of books at the sanctuaries, initiating this example, put the mame of Pythagoras at the head of their columns of Pythagoras at the head of the pythagoras at t

Thefe pallages prove Thoth was not a man, but that works, obtaining the approbation of the priefts colleges, were engraved on could must called Thoth (a), as we shall presently lamblichus, in his Egyptian Mysteries, makes

knowing this Egyptian word fignified column, would not commit a pleonalm.

fee, to which they gave this general denomination. The spirit by which the learned declared themselves inspired, and to which they paid homage for their knowledge, was Phtha, the artist of nature, and source of information. " The Egyptians (b) affirm that Vulcan (c) taught them the principles of philosow phy, and that their pontifs and prophets bestowed on themselves the title of his priefts." Thus, in the criticisms of Scaliger, Vulcan is called the Legislator of ee ras benetrated the Beyotian Egypt.

These columns, on which the discoveries worthy to be transmitted to posterity were engraved, deserve to be examined. Mercury " (d) invented mysterious columns (Erghan) and commanded they should inscribe on " them the laws by which the stars moved." " ---- The Egyptians were the first who " measured the heavens and earth, and transmitted this knowledge to their descendants by engraving it on columns" (e). Proclus ever read. 44 The pairiarch Seth, knowing

( /) In Timeum, lib. 1

- (b) Diogenes Laertius.
- (c) The same as Phtha. The sund demail (x)
- (d) Manetho, lib. 5.

mab A

(e) Achilles Tatius, Comment in Aratum.

(f) adds, they also inscribed remarkable actions, and interesting inventions. These flones, extremely hard, composed an immorsal book, a kind of Cyclopadia, which in\_ cluded all arts and sciences invented or made perfect min part ages a wherefore the priests undertook nothing till they had first consulted them (g). Pythagoras and Plato read them, and thence obtained the rudiments of their philosophy. Theophilus of Antioch to (b) alks, " To what purpose has Pythagoras penetrated the Egyptian fanctuaries, Signal confulted the columns of Mercury?" Sanchoniathon (i), the most ancient historian, except Moses, vaunts of having obtained his information from the monuments of the temples of Tazout, and in the mysterious books of the Ammonians day ad awal ord made "

The custom of making marble, and its durable characters, the book of science, is almost as ancient as the world. We have reauson to believe this book was the first men ever read. "The patriarch Seth, knowing

(b) Dingence Lagring.

<sup>(</sup>f) In Timæum, lib. 1.

<sup>(</sup>g) Iamblichus de Mysteriis, Egypt.

<sup>(</sup>b) Lib. 3.

<sup>(</sup>i) Apud. Eufeb. Præp. Evan. lib. T.

" Adam had predicted all that earth contains

" should perish, either by conflagration or

" universal deluge, and fearing philosophy

" and aftronomy would be loft to man, and

" buried in forgetfulnels, engraved his know-

" ledge on two columns, the one of brick,

" the other of stone, that should the waters

destroy the first, the latter might remain,

" and teach men aftronomical discoveries.

"This column is still to be feen in the Siri-

" adic land." (k)

Let us hear what Manetho fays, the famous historian, and facred Egyptian writer, who lived more than three centuries before Josephus. He affirms (1) "that he obtained "his knowledge from the pillars (27444)" in the Siriadic land, on which Thoth, the "first Mercury, had engraved it, in the facred language and hieroglyphic characters; "whence the good genius, son of the second "Mercury, had these characters translated

"Mercury, had these characters translated into the dialect of the pricits, and written in sacerdotal letters." Here, Sir, are two men, of two nations, who engrave their

(k) Antiq. Jud, lib. 1.

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discoveries

<sup>(1)</sup> Manetho, in his Sothis, dedicated to Ptolemy Philadelphus, vide Syncelli Chronographiam.

discoveries on marble. I shall not examine whether Seth, as Jabloniki supposes (m), be the same as Thoth; or if Josephus, posterior to Manetho, wished to transfer the honour of an act to the patriarch which the Egyptians had long attributed to themselves. This is an enquiry of mere curiolity; the matter of most importance would be to prove, from authentic monuments, the existence of these columns, and the place where. Both these historians call it the Siriadic land, a land as much unknown to the ancients as moderns; which has inclined several of the learned to imagine that, for Siriadic, we ought to read Siringic, which fignifies sub-terranean alleys. This idea was, perhaps, fuggetted by the following passage. " It is " affirmed (n) that the Egyptian priests, instructed in all that concerned religion, on the approach of the deluge, feared lest divine worthip would be effaced from the memory " of man. To preferve it, therefore, they dug, " at a vast expence, and in various parts of " the kingdom, fubterranean winding paf-

<sup>(</sup>m) Panth. Egypt. lib. 3. cap. 20. and an extraction (1)

<sup>(</sup>n) Ammianus Marcellinus, dib. 22.

fages, in the walls of which they engraved

" their knowledge, under the forms of various

animals, and birds, called by them hiero-

" glyphics, and which are unintelligible to

merable hieroglyphics, divides singly and alderen

This writer, it feems, has decided the queftion; and by the Siriadic land must be understood the fubterranean canals dug in the rocks round Thebes and Memphis. In the immense labyrinths, beneath the plain of Saccara, are vast numbers of the figures of men, birds, and animals, fculptured in the walls; like hieroglyphicks are found in the numerous caverns of the mountains near Thebes, among which facred characters, fome are painted, some engraved, and some in baffo relievo, divided into compartments, or columns. Are not these the sanctuaries which the priefts alone might enter, and where they confided to stone historical events, the wonders of art, and the inventions of fcience? I know the Scholiast on Sophocles (0) pretends the columns (Στηλαι) on which

tions on the columns here nil (6) in merely the boundaries, or goal, the countries could have any

sighten to the hicroglyphic learning of the Egyptians. T.

were square stones: so they were, perhaps, in Greece; but obelishes, columns, and the walls of temples and caveras, in which were innumerable hieroglyphics, divided into compartments, were the \(\Sigma\_{\text{Th}}\alpha\_{\text{al}}\) of the Egyptians, as Sanchoniathon, Manetho, and the most ancient authors attest. The monuments described by Ammianus Marcellinus still remain, and the traveller beholds them with barren admiration, as the first efforts of human genius to render its labours immortal.

But the testimony of authors will not be sufficient, Sir, to persuade us these hieroglyphics were anterior to the deluge, the truth or salshood of which can only be satisfactorily proved by understanding and reading them. There is little doubt but they would inform us when they were engraved, and give the history of the sirst ages of the world; at least, we may reasonably conclude these characters preceded writing, and are the most an-

<sup>\*</sup> It seems strange the Author should suppose the inscriptions on the columns here meant, which were merely the boundaries, or goal, of a chariot course, could have any relation to the hieroglyphic learning of the Egyptians. T.

cient mode of conveying knowledge that has

descended to these ages.

This vaunted personage, Thoth, is then demonstrated never to have existed; but that the Egyptian priests published their works under that general title, when honoured by the unanimous fuffrages of the colleges. The interpretation of the word renders this undoubted. Jablonski (p) has proved that Thoth fignified column. The Greeks translating the word by that of 27727 have preferved its fignification. Since the learned of Egypt were accustomed to write their books without adding their name, it was natural they should take that of the monuments which were to transmit them to posterity. It even should seem this honour was granted only to those who made important discoveries, fince, to obtain it, the approbation of all the academicians of the nation was re-Thus when the Latins, and others, who have no profound knowledge in Egyptian history, speak of the columns of Thoth, they commit the fame pleonaim as those geo-

graphers

<sup>(</sup>p) Jablonski Tom. III. Thoth, Theuth, or Thouth, come from the Egyptian Theusthi, column.

graphers who call Ætna Mount Gibel (q) Observe, I entreat you, Sir, that Sanchoniathon, Manetho, Galen, and the writers who were instructed in the mysteries of Egypt, and went to the fource of knowledge. do not commit this fault, and only fay they engraved on columns, or Ernhas, remarkable events, and the marvellous works of art. Thus when, according to Alian (r), the priefts affirmed Sefoftris had been instructed in the feiences by Thoth, or Mercury, it fignified that when initiated they taught him to read the history of human learning, inscribed on columns, in hieroglyphics. They first bore the simple title of Thoth, but the custom of consulting them, the facred places in which they were preserved, and the knowledge they contained, rendered them respectable. They were confecrated by religion, and placed under the immediate protection of Phtha, or the creative spirit.

These principles established, we may explain, with probability, the three Thoths, or Mercuries, enumerated by the Egyptians,

duod (9) Gibel, in Arabic, signifies mountain.

the one before, and the two others after, the deluge. The first indicated the linfancy of human knowledge; either because some mon numents had escaped the destruction of menor that those they soon after raised contained knowledge appertaining to times anterior to that dreadful æra. The second Thoth denotes the efforts of the Egyptians in the discovery of physical and astronomical truths, the translation of the hieroglyphics into facerdotal characters, and the establishment of laws and religion. The third was the flourishing state of science, the progress of the arts, and the perfection to which they were carried; as the obelifks, temples, and pyramids attest, the grandeur and magnificence of which no nation has equalled. These æras the Egyptian priests clearly described by the epithet Trismegistus, thrice great, which they gave to their allegoric Thoth.

Thus, Sir, you have feen the books of Thoth, or Hermes, were a collection of the productions of the literati of Egypt, and formed their Cyclopedia. These perished in the conflagration of the Ptolemæan library, and the originals, which remain engraved,

in

in a thousand places, in Egyptian marble, are unintelligible. Of all the treasures of antient learning we possess only a few pearls. As to the Hermetic books, so vaunted by those who lose their time and substance in search of the philosopher's stone, they are imaginary works, falsely attributed to Hermes, or the Egyptian Thoth.

I have the honour to be, &c.

characters, and the chablishment of laws and religion. The third was the flourithing flare of ference; the progress of the arts, and the perfection to which they were carried; as the obelishs, temples, and pyramids and the grandent stemples, and pyramids which for the grandent stepples of the Egyptian priests clearly described by the they eave to their allegoric Thoth.

Thus, Sir, you have feen the books of Thoth, or Hernies, tweir Mcollection of the productions of the literati of Egypt, and formed their Cyclopedia. These perished in the confugration of the Proleman library, and the originals, which remain engraved.

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Gg4 LETTER

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its history, celebrated by a few Egyptian state of Ratue of menman anciently famous for the and and and the few telebrates and the state of the stat found it gave, at fun-rising: called by the priests son of the day. Homer celebrates the Son of Aurora, the conqueror of Antilochus, which his commentators and fucceeding poets; erroneously apply to the Egyptian Memnon. The statue of Thebes was named Amenophis. Memnon, who was at the hege of Troy much later, was fent from Sufa, by flatue broken by Cambyses, and the trunk, after long ceasing to sound, began again, under the Ptolemies; pronounced the Jeven vowels, before its fall. The reason given why the priests called this statue the image of the fun, and the cousin of Ofiris, and the derivation of its name, Amenophis.

notoris brier This thattie, Met marvellous for

BRIEFLY mentioned the statue of Memnon, Sir, when describing the ruins of Thebes; but, the great names engraved on the pedefial pleading in favour of the wonders

wonders related of it, I cannot conclude these letters without endeavouring to discover. amid the darkness of time, some traces of its history, celebrated by a few Egyptian, and a hundred Greek and Latin, authors, whose opinions often differ, and some of which bear the marks of blind credulity. Others, more fage, unable to disbelieve their fenies, or give faith to miracles, have remained in doubt. I will faithfully cite their words, and, by comparing them, you will form some judgment of a statue so celebrated in antiquity.

Among the ruins of Thebes we remarked many colofial statues, most of them thrown down, or mutilated. The greatest was at the entrance of the vestibules of the tomb I described, named Osymandyas by Diodorus (s), and, according to Strabo (t), Ifmandes by the Egyptians. A multitude of writers, however, have called it Memnon (4). This statue, less marvellous for

FLY mentioned the statue Memon, Sir, when describing the Colon

<sup>(</sup>t) Lib. 17. (u) Olymandyas and Ifmandes were probably its vulgar name among the Rgyptians, ib The words are derived from wonders

its gigantic fize, and the hardness of its granite, than for the property it possessed of yielding a found at fun-rife, was broken by Cambyses. One half was thrown down, the other part remains on its base. The " statue of Memnon (x), represented a man " in the bloom of youth, with his face " toward the rifing fun, and, when first " shone on by its rays, it was said to " fpeak." Thebes, famous for its " hundred gates, and the vocal statue of " Memnon, which greets Aurora, his mo-" ther, when the rifes" (y). The priefts of Egypt called him fon of the day (z), and according to Diodorus, the cousin of Osiris. Homer first spoke of the son of Aurora. " Neftor cherished in his heart the remem-" brance of his generous Antilochus, slain

Ou Smandi, to yield a found. Memnon, also, may come from Emnoni, of stone, whence the Greeks have formed Memnon Ismandes. Vide Jablonski de Memnone.

(x) Philostratus in Vitâ Apollonii Tyanzi. lib. 6.

(y) Dionys. Perieget. Orbis Descriptio.

had no pro deliver is also persone as as

(z) In the ancient Egyptian tongue Eho is day, whence the Greeks have formed  $H\omega_{5}$ , Aurora, and called Memnon, her fon. Jablons. de Memnone

"by the illustrious son of Aurora" (a). His Commentators have all thought this passage related to the Egyptian Memnon; but the poet might fignify by this one of the chiefs who came, from the East, to the aid of Troy. It was a metaphoric language familiar in his time; the fcripture uses it when it calls the people of those climates children of the East. Succeeding Poets differently explained his thought. Aurora, fays Hefiod, in his Theogony, had by Tithon the valiant Memnon, who bore a brazen helmet, and was king of Ethiopia. " The brave Antilochus (b). " magnanimous of foul, defirous to fave his se father's life, fell beneath Memnon, the " chief of an Ethiopian army (c): one of " the horses of Nestor, transpierced by a ja-" velin Paris threw, stopped his car."

<sup>(</sup>a) Odyffey.

<sup>(</sup>b) Pindar. Od. II. Druel a blerifice stoneine do

<sup>(</sup>c) These passages relate to the Egyptian Memnon. The Greeks long called the Delta Egypt, and all the country farther South Ethiopia. Homer makes Menelaus fpeak thus to Telemachus, "I went up Egypt as far as Fthiopia;" and, as he takes his Hero only to Thebes, he evidently meant the Thebais. Damis, the companion of Apollonius Thyanæus, declares he faw the Temple and statue of Memnon in Ethiopia, that is to fay in Upper Egypt.

Greek and Latin poets, supported by these authorities, confound the Trojan and Egyptian Meranon. Virgil (d) speaks of the troops of Aurora, and the arms of the black Memnon. This colour, meant to denote the hero's country, must not be regarded as a fign of deformity, for Homer, celebrating Eurypilus, calls him the most beauteous of mortals, except the divine Memnon (e). " rora, who had favoured the Trojans, was " no longer moved by the miseries of Ilium, " nor of Hecuba. Affliction more deep invaded her heart, she wept her own woes, " and lamented the death of Memnon (f); On the base of the statue was the following epigram, written by the poet Asclepiodotus. Joy to Thetis, goddess of the sea! Know that Memnon, who died fighting under " the Trojan ramparts, daily utters a fweet " found, near the tombs, dug in the Lybian " mounts, where the impetuous Nile divides " Thebes, famous for its gates; while Achil-"-les, insatiable in battle, speaks not near

tomet

jans? For the fables of the poet livery have

<sup>(</sup>e) Odyff. lib. 5.

<sup>(</sup>f) Ovid. Metam. lib. 13. droildia nobollog A (g)

" the walls of Ilium, nor in Theffalian ing. busines of the transfer and the second

Thus, Sir, the Memnon of Egypt, or Ethiopia, for fo the ancients called the Thebais, was generally supposed the same who perished, glorioully warring with the Greeks; but these are the testimonies of poets, who were more defirous to give us affecting tales, and brilliant fictions, than historical truths. Continue we to examine the fables invented concerning his origin. Aurora (g), in love with Tithon, carried him into Ethiopia, and had by him Emathion and Memnon. Ifacius Tzetzes adopts the fame allegory. "Tithon, fon of Laomedon, was beloved by the goddels of day, of whom were born Memnon " and Emathion." Diodorus explains this passage thus (b). "Tithon, fon of Laomedon, and brother of Priam, led his armies into the Eastern countries of Asia, as far as Ethiopia, whence arose the fable of Memnon, born of Aurora."

But who is this hero, who aided the Trojans? For the fables of the poets always have

3/11 (b) Lib. 4.

<sup>(</sup>g) Apollodori Biblioth. lib. 3. cap. 11.

some foundation in truth. Diodorus willinform us. " Memnon came (i) to the fuc-" cour of Troy, leading the armies of Teu-14 tam, Emperor of Affyria, whose affistance " Priam, fovereign of the kingdom of Troy, "dependant on that emperor, had implored. "Teutam fent him twenty thousand men, Ethiopians and Susians; and two hundred "cars, commanded by Memnon. This " warrior, beloved by the emperor, and then " governor of Persia, was in the prime of " manhood, and famous for his strength of " body and mind. He had built a palace in " the city of Sufa, which bore his name till " the reign of the Persians, and the public way, "fill called the Memnonian road." Strabo adds (k) that Tithon, the father of Memnon, founded Sufa, which was a hundred and twenty stadia in circumference, of an oblong form, and its citadel was called Memnonium, the citadel of Memnon, Herodotus, also (1), calls Sufa the city of Memnon, and Pausanias (m) affirms this general came to the

<sup>(</sup>i) Diod. Sic. lib. 2. (v. e, the Thebats) where he reig

war. The Member of that bege is great boyed.

<sup>(</sup>m) In Phocicis, cap. 31.

fiege of Troy from Susa, not from Ethiopia, and that he had sujected all the Median nations to the river Choaspes.

These authorities, the number of which I might augment, were it necessary, evidently prove that, during the memorable siege whose heroes are made immortal by the genius of one man, the Assyrian emperor sent a brave general to aid Priam, named Memnon, who had no relation to the Memnon of Egypt (n). It is probable, as I have already said, Homer, calling him the son of Aurora, only meant to signify the East, whence he came. After poets invented the sable we have recited to adorn their verses.

Let us now examine the real name of the statue which is the subject of our enquiries, the opinion the ancients had of it, and the intention of the priests in erecting it. Herodotus is the first who calls it Memnon, and he but just mentions it, because it had lately been mutilated when he visited Egypt. A multitude of travellers since him have spoken of it

negell

with

<sup>(</sup>n) Philostratus affirms Memnon was from Ethiopia, (i. e. the Thebais) where he reigned before the Trojan war. The Memnon of that siege is greatly posterior to, and different from, the former. Vita Apollonii Thyanzi.

with enthusiasm, and generally agree in givaing it the name of Memnon, which only proves this denomination had been adopted by foreigners. But to obtain truth we must hear the Egyptians, who best ought to understand their own monuments. The Alexandrian Chronicle contains the following passage.—

" Cambyses commanded they should cut

" Amenophis through the middle, the vocal

" statue, vulgarly called Memnon".

" The people of the Thebais affirm the statue

" we call Memnon is that of the Egyptian

"Phamenophis (o)". The Pb, in their language, was the masculine article (p), and the true name, therefore, was Amenophis. When Cambyses had broken the statue, it, probably, long ceased to sound; or Herodotus, who travelled Egypt not long after the Persian conquest, would not have forgotten a sact so extraordinary. The Ptolemies, having founded a kingdom in Egypt, savoured arts and sciences, and the statue, placed on its base, then continued to be heard, as Manetho

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THE CHARGE VES

<sup>(0)</sup> Paufanius in Atticis.

<sup>(</sup>p) Jablonski de Memnane.

reports (4) but not in so distinct a manner as formerly. The Romans conquered Egypt, three centuries after, and eagerly went to admire its antiquities; among them was Germanicus-" Who could not refift (r) his de-" are to behold the miracles of Egypt, the " most astonishing of which is the stone " statue of Memnon, that, on the moment " the first beams of the fun shine upon it, " pronounces vowels.", and the pyramids, " which rife like mountains amid almost in-" accessible sands." Numerous inscriptions confirm the account of Tacitus, among which is the following, on the right leg of the statue, I, C. Lalia, wife of Africanus the Prefect, beard the voice of Memnon, at balf after fix in the morning, in the first year of the reign of Domition, &c.'-And this on its left leg: I, Publius Balbinus; heard the divine voice of the vocal statue of Memnon, other wife Phamenoph, in company with the lovely Queen, Sabina, (the wife of Adrian). The

<sup>(4)</sup> Syncelli Chronographia. Manetho was a facred writer of Egypt, under the first Ptolemy, and understood the hieroglyphic language.

<sup>(</sup>r) Tacit. Annal. lib. 2.

<sup>\*</sup> Tacitus reads vocalem fonum reddens. T.

fun was in the first bour of its counse, in the fifteenth year of the reign of Adrian. Julia
Camilla commanded me to engrave these words,
at the instant Adrian the August beard the
voice of Memnon: And, one the same side,
I, Mithridaticus, Tribune of the Troelfth Legion (\*), heard the voice of Memnon, at six in the
morning. In on and on aid to adain out to

A thousand other inforiptions, which it were useless to cite, attest the same fact; and, when to these authorities we add those of Strabo and Tacitus, incredulity cannot resist such witnesses. The marble on which they have been preserved sixteen hundred years, is a durable book that deposes in savour of the voice of Amenophis. But what must we hence conclude? Did the nature of the stone produce such a phonomenon? So Pausanias seems to think. A stone (s), the shown at Megara, yields, when struck with the stone of a string on an instrument. The Colossus. I saw at Thebes, beyond the Nile, sur-

meil at

<sup>\*</sup> Read twenty second—Vide Jablonski and the inscriptions in Pococke, T. M. ab a shoolds [vd best D (a)

<sup>(</sup>s) In Atticis.

Maprized menstill more of Hadaily produces, Mat fun-rifing, a found as powerful as the Arings of a lyre which break when over-Mretched July Philoftratus, fond of the marvellous, fets no bounds to his credulity. "The flatue tofe Memnon (t), though of fone, was endowed with speech. Joyous " at the fight of his mother, he faluted her, " at dun-rifing, with a gracious voice, and, "toward fun-fetting, expressed his grief for f her absence, by a melancholy and mournful found This marble, also, had the faculty of hedding tears, at will and Echo, it is 55 faid, replied to its voice, and perfectly imitated its expressions of joy and grief." Any ancient grammarian (u) lays, this statue was formed in to marvellous a manner that it faluted the King and the Sunny enone edit

These passages will not lead us to believe marble might yield a found such as has been attributed to Memnon. The empty sarcophagus of the great chamber of the pyramid, I know, resounded, in a very sonorous manner,

prized

<sup>\*</sup> Read twenty fecond ... Dranki. - broom with the

<sup>(</sup>u) Cited by Jablonski: de Memnone. 000 q ni znonquis

when struck with stone, or metal; but, however disposed, the Sun's rays, by enlightening it, could produce nothing similar. Let us Suppose the priests of Thebes had brought the mechanic arts to their present perfection; and, equally ingenious with Vaucanson, and other celebrated artists, had formed a speaking head, with the springs so arranged as to pronounce the vowels at fun-rifing. Cambyles deftroyed this wonderful mechanism, by overthrowing the upper part of the statue; and the reftimonies I have cited speak only of the trunk, still seen on its pedestal. It is then natural to attribute the found of the mutilated Coloffus to the artifice of the priefts, who opposed this pretended miracle to the first progress of Christianity. The voice of Amenophis has, certainly, never been heard fince the commencement of the fourth age of the church, when Egypt was converted े कि Charletty! कि , काला के कियों के ते का

Let us endeavour to discover the purport of the priests in forming this vocal statue. We know they had confecrated inferior deities, to preserve the memory of their most famous discoveries; and Amenophis was, no doubt, formed with the same intention. The con-

currence

currence of certain passages in the antients may give firength to this conjecture. You recollect, Sir, in a temple of Abydos, which Strabo also calls the temple of Memnon (x), the priests repeated the seven vowels as a hymn, and forbade entrance to Musicians. Demetrius Phalereus confirms this. "In Egypt the priests used the seven vowels, "instead of hymns, to celebrate the gods; "repeating them, fucceffively, with their b" proper tone, which continuation of founds, 15 so modulated, served them instead of flutes and cithara, producing an agreeable me-"Inlody." The ancients, and Jablonski (y), who has collected their testimonies with extreme care, affirm these yowels were consecrated to the feven planets, and that the statue of Amenophis repeated them at a stated time. Lucian makes Eucrates speak thus: " I heard Memnon, in Egypt, not according " to his usual custom, make an unmeaning noise, but pronounce an oracle, in seven " founds." This may be mere pleafantry, in Lucian; but it originated in the persuasion

to preferve the memory of their most famous

<sup>(</sup>x) Lib. 17. Singo sand has (selection)

that, before Cambyles had broken the Goloffus; it uttered the feyen wowelst to The following dialogue, written in Greek, tonoits left lego is another proof. The differ the tent the tent of the differ the tent of the t

Camby fes mutilated med Irabo, from marble, was formed into the Sun's images Informerly possessed the meledious voice of Memnon ... Cams byfes deprived me of those accents by which I expressed my joy land griefil sid ni slavisle dit What thou relatestois most inpitigable southy voice is now obscure, and unintelligible on Una bappy flatue! I deplore the missortune by which begin their course, whichsuber sudt are wedy .ooThe Egyptians held the la Universe was created at the vernal equinoxidate They lay stifz) that, at the birth of nature, when the Stars began to move in space, Ariesewas 4 in the middle of Heaven the Moon in 56 Cancer, the Sun role with Leo, Mercury With Virgo, Venus with Libra, Mars was ff in Scorpio, Jupiter-in Sagittarius, and " Saturn in Capricorn." Syncellus (a) found, in an old Egyptian Chronidle, that after a revolution of 36525 years the Zodiac would

defirous

<sup>(</sup>z) Macrob. Somn. Scipionis. . . . . . . . . . . . Sold (d)

<sup>(4)</sup> See the Dialogue above cited sidqargonord) (a)

be in its first position; that is to say, that the first minute of the first degree of the equinoctial fine would begin with the fign Aries. I leave these things to the discussion of Aftronomers, but they hew the vernal equinox, in Egypt, principally drew the attention of the learned and the people on Amoun, la lymbolical deity, was confecrated to it, and the festivals in his honour all related to that interesting period. From this they dated their aftronomical year, and in this, according to the priefts, the feven planets would again begin their course, which they allegorically named celectial musical It was then Itoo. that Amenophis pronounced the feven vowels flymbols of the planets) which composed the terrestrial music. Thus might this famous statue In facred language, bencalled the cousin of Offris (b), and the image of the Sum fold fince lit imitated, on earth, whe Sun's office in the Heavens. The priests, in making it repeat these seven founds, whence all languages have been formed, and which fourmarvelloufly paint our thoughts, wwere

<sup>(</sup>b) Diod. Sic.

<sup>(</sup>a) Macrob. Somn. Scipionis.
(a) Chronographia: batic svode sugolaid add so? (b)

desirous of making their most excellent discovery immortal; a discovery which, according to Plato, must either be invented by a divine man or a god. It is possible, also, that the shadow of this Colossus served to indicate the moment of the equinox; so, at least, we may be led to think from its name, formed from Ame noughi (d), teller of good tidings (e). The Greeks adopted these ancient ideas when they attributed to Apollo (the Sun) the invention of the lyre and music. This allegory, which denoted the admirable harmony of the spheres, became obscured by poetical sictions, and was no longer understood,

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thetree, in there this unger the called the countries of Chicken My naming the image of the dust from the things of capital the countries of capital the countries of capital the countries of th

(d) Jablonski de Memnone.

Neithe

oping windstie Inmortality of the Soul. The first is denounted by the temples of Phtha,

LETTER

<sup>(</sup>a) The Sun's arrival at the Equator promifed the cellation of the fouth wind, and the coming of the inundation, which occasioned the Egyptians to observe it so carefully.

definors of making their moderate then difference to the covery immortal to a difference which we could a

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divine man for a god it. It is possibled alin-

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learly we may be led to think from its name,

The Egyptians bad but two religious dogmas, that of a creating deity, and the immortality of the foul, the rest was all allegory, and this worship was preserved pure within the temples. The necessity of using emblematic sigures, before the invention of letters, infensibly led to their adoration, which happened when the easy method of writing occasioned the sense of the hieroglyphics to be forgotten. Conjecture concerning the gods of Laban.

# dregate the state of react, attaining the

Grand Cairo.

INDULGE me, Sir, in a few short respections on a religion whose mysteries I have interpreted. It contained but two established principles, that of the Creator, an Infinite Spirit, and the Immortality of the Soul. The first is demonstrated by the temples of Phtha, Neith,

Neith, and Cneph, confectated to the power, wishom, and goodness of the Supreme Being. The fecond by the care with which bodies were embalmed; and the prayer recited at the death of an Egyptian. The temple of Eneph, in the island of Elephantina, may be regarded as the most ancient in Egypt sofors before the people descended into the valley, where the stagnant waters of the Nile formed impened trable marshes, till drained and rendered proq. per for agriculture by men's labours, laccording to Herodotus, they inhabited the mountains befide the cataract. This monub ment, then, is a testimony their worthip of the Creator preceded every other, and we may, even, safely affirm it was preserved, in all its purity, among the priefts; for men once, by the effort of reason, attaining the knowledge of one God or receiving this knowledge by tradition, cannot, while form ing an enlightened fociety, fall back to kito! latry, which always supposes profound ignoveneration, but actually worth pedagara

All the remaining Egyptian theology was purely allegorical, which included the course of the sun, moon, and stars, and the most remarkable phanomena of nature, each of which

which was personified in the facred language of the priefts, But, far from adoring they confidered them only as admirable figns, in which the fplender of the most high was made manifest at This religion was, probab bly forfirst taught, but inferifibly corrupted. because the dulgar, accustomed to see the Symbolical figures I have mentioned, in the fanctuary, and when taken thence, at certain periods to offer facrifices of thankfgiving to the creator, forgot the invisible object of adoration in the emblem But, wherefore did not the priests remove this blindness Wherefore enlave a nation by fuch wretched superflition to It was not their intent, at first no doubt brobat the necessity of expressing themselves by allegorical fables, before the invention of letters, and keeping them in the temples, accustomed the people to hold them facred. When writing became familiar, and they had wholly forgotten their first fignification, they no longer prescribed bounds to their veneration, but actually worshipped symbols which their ancestors had only honoured. Officis and Isis became the tutclar deities of Egypt: Serapis prefided over the inundation; aig Aable phanomens of nature, each of

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Apis prefaged abundance; and the evil genius Typhon menaced destructive ills. Deep ly impressed on their minds, it was difficult to erafe these ideas without overthrowing the established religion. It may be too, for men were ever the fame, the priefts adroitly profited by this ignorance, to make themselves mediators between heaven and carth, and the dispensers of the divine will; yet we ought to be circumfpect in prefuming to judge a body of the learned, who published the wife laws that Athens profited by, and raifed fo great a number of ufeful and durable monuments, when we reflect that the Hebrews, though kept separate from the Egyptians, and in the ancient faith of Abraham, by their leaders, and prophets, no fooner came to the defert, than, profiting by the absence of Mofes, who waited on the mountain to receive the commandments, they forced Aaron to cast them a golden calf for a god. So true is it that sensible objects have more power over the multitude than all the precepts of wisdom. Reasoning impartially, we must perceive it is equally difficult and dangerous to shew mankind the truth. The greatest philosophers 100 C

philosophers of Greece and Rome, as well as the Egyptian priests, acknowledged only one God. Mythology to them was a chain of allegories, veiling physical effects, and matural causes; yet they bowed before the statues of Jupiter, Pallas, and Venus. Socrates, alone, had the fortitude to exclaim against thele fabulous delties, and Socrates was obliged to swallow poison. If you wish to recollect a more recent example of the danger of enlightening the world, remember Galileo, who, after having been obliged to alk pardon on his knees for daring to speak the truth, and announce a most important discovery, was persecuted the remainder of his life, and died in exile. Heroic as it is to die a martyr in fuch a cafe, there are few minds capable of this heroifin.

These facts, and many others I might cite, prove that, though the Egyptian priests were culpable for concealing the light from the people they should have instructed, we must not condemn them with too much rigour; for, in these distant ages, when they spoke but by types, idolarry took rapid strides, and it was scarcely possible in destroying it

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not to destroy religion. The gods of Laban, which Rebecca stole, were hieroglyphics, the fignification of which was probably loft to Laban, and he adored these images because they descended to him from his forefathers. The same thing happened in Egypt, where hieroglyphics became the divinities of the people, when they could no longer comprehend their meaning. There was but one way to extinguish superstition, and this must have been by the destruction of these hieroglyphics; but this facrifice would have robbed the priests of their knowledge, and of the absolute empire they exercised over the mind. There are individuals sufficiently generous to renounce the seductive charms of power, from pure motives of benevolence, but no body of men was ever capable of an effort fo fublime.

HIER. S. 1, 3d of honor and are initative written language of men, and are initative and allegorical characters, differing boin letters, because, one paints the thoughts by marks and sounds, and the other by figures only. Their antiquity approaches the time of the deluger and, perhaps, precedes it, RTTTT

nor to deilroy religion. The gods of Labare, which Rebecca Role; were hieroglyphics, the fignification of which was probably loft to Laban, and he adored these images because they descended to him from his forest theres. The fame thing happened in Egypt, where Theroglyphics the first written language; more ancient than the deluge; their meaning loft. X under the monarchs of the lower empire; and might, perhaps, be recovered by a perfect \* knowledge of the Coptic, or by a fourney to The temple of Jupiter Ammon, where an - Egyptian Cotony Settled, and where, basim probable, the ancient language, books, and interpretation of the bieroglyphics, are renounce the feductive churms of poursofferm pure motives of benevolence; but no body of men was ever camble amorfort fo fublime's

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HIEROGLYPHICS, Sir, formed the first written language of men, and are imitative and allegorical characters, differing from letters, because, one paints the thoughts by marks and sounds, and the other by figures only. Their antiquity approaches the time of the deluge; and, perhaps, precedes it;

for before that event men poffeffed arts and fciences, and, as they engraved on stone, some of those monuments might have escaped the general destruction of hornogeneral enlocation

Clemens Alexandrinus enumerates a great number of books attributed to Thoth, that is to fay, approved by the academies, and published under this name; and even cites feveral of them. The first, faid he, contained facred hynnis, the fecond rules for kings; the four following treated of aftronomy, and the observations of the Egyptians. Ten others contained the science of hieroglyphics, geography, and cofmography. A like number included the code of laws, religion, and holy discipline; and the fix last were a compleat treatife on physic. These works have undergone the fate of fo many others. A Barbarian, whose name posterity must detest, used them, for fix months, to heat the baths of Alexandria. But most of these Dgyptian books were only copies; the originals remain sculptured in a thousand places, on obelifks, and the walls of temples and caverns, and these are what the learned of all nations ought to endeavour to read. Manetho, bigh spriest, and facted writer, among the Egyptians,

tians, thence collected the history he wrote, under the Ptolomies. About three centuries after, Hermapion interpreted the obelife of Heliopolis, transported to Rome by Augustue; fince whom no author has understood the hieroglyphics, or none whose works have descended to us. Ammianus Marcellinus. who lived in the reign of Julian, affirms these characters were then unintelligible to the Latine. Are any means left of rending away the veil with which time has covered them, and explaining the facts they conrain? He who should effect this would acquire immortal glory, by reftoring to arts, fciences, and history, fo many discoveries, loft to the world. Though I make no pretentions to this most arduous task, I will recapitulate some ideas, to which the study of the ancients, and a reiterated view of the monuments of Egypt, gave birth.

The priests are known to be the inventors of the letters called sacerdotal, with which they translated the hieroglyphics. These were universally used in the temples, and with them all that related to religion and science was written. This was an interme-

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diate dialect between the hieroglyphics and the yulgar tongue, which letter, happily, is not loft; it exists in Coptic books, with Greek and Arabic translations, and is found in a great number of manuscripts, scattered over Egypt, and in the libraries of Europe, To attain a knowledge of this facerdotal dialect, alphabets must either be found, or passages common to both languages. On the walls of the temples, and caverns, among the hieroglyphics, are letters which differ from any known; and which, probably, were a part of the facerdotal dialect. These are the characters that ought to be Rudied, as containing a key to the hieroglyphics, which they are either a continuation or interpretation of. Perhaps, a man of learning, perfectly acquainted with the Coptic, Arabic, and Hebrew, who should dedicate several years to this study, among the monuments of ancient Egypt, would accomplish an enterprise fo noble.

Another reflection has particularly struck me, during my travels in this country. The Ammonians were an Egyptian colony; and the priests who rendered Jupiter Ammon famous had

had the fame religion, the fame information, as those of Egypt. Their god no longer utters oracles, but his temple may still fabfift. The furrounding country, being very fertile, should be inhabited; and this people, Having undergone no revolutions, which have to often changed Egypt during more than two thousand years, must have preserved their customs, worship, and mother tongue. The love of fame no longer inciting them to the study of arts and sciences, these are probably loft; but they may have been kept in memory by tradition. Sanchoniathon affirms he gained his information from the monuments of Egypt, and the books of the Ammonians, which books still should remain in the country that gave them birth; and, perhaps, in the fanctuary of this antique temple, defended by deserts so vast. Hither, then, might a man of learning direct his footfleps, with a hope of fuccess. The road is strewed with dangers. Alexander, with numerous attendants, and camels loaded with water and provisions, was near perishing in the attempt. One of the armies of Cambyfes was buried under the fands, and not a I i 2 Toldier

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foldier escaped to revisit his native country. But what will not the fortitude of a man. guided by the light, and inflamed with the love of science, undertake? Till some erudite European has visited the temple of Ammon, and informed enlightened nations what are its treasures, and what its remains, it will be natural to suppose an Egyptian colony resides in its neighbourhood, and that this colony has preserved its native tongue, and the interpretation of hieroglyphics. I am further led to believe this colony exists, because the Oases I have traced on the map are still inhabited, and the Bey of Girga fends a Cachef to govern the one which is nearest to that city. A traveller who should dare to traverse the deserts which divide them from the banks of the Nile, would find monuments infinitely curious, and, hitherto, unknown.

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foldier escaped to revtit his native country. But what will not the sortitude of a man, guided by the high and indened with the love of science, undertake? Till some crudite

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To examine the great take Menzala, and the ruins to be found in its Isles; wifit Pelusium, Parama, and the Oases; stay at Syene, to observe the solfitial well; traverse Yemen, and collect knowledge and manuscripts; remain at Mecca, during the pilgrimage; and, bearing from that city, and from Medina, works, and information, unknown in Europe, travel Arabia Petræa, and Deserta, and make some stay at Damascus, and depart from thence to Europe.

numents infinited in M. T. Mor and, hitherto.

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MANY curious things remain to be verified in Egypt, and the following are propositions offered to whoever defire to render themselves useful in arts and sciences, and acquire such precious information as shall honour their country.

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The great lake Menzala should be examined; its outlets into the Mediterranean
sounded; the Isle of Fanis landed at; where,
according to the Arabian writers, and the
natives, grand ruins, and antique marbles,
are to be found. The voyage should be continued to the extremity of the lake, and the
remains of Pelusium, and Farama, visited,
where the Arabian geographers describe a
tomb which should be that of Pompey the
Great.

The traveller should descend the canal of Sebennytus, now Semenhoud, to the lake Bourlos, and examine the ruins of ancient Butis, where Herodotus places the sanctuary of Latona, hewn from one astonishing block of granite, which I have described, after that historian.

The remains of Naucratis, and Sais, hear Faoua; and those of Phacusa, and Bubasitus, by which the famous canal of the Ptolemies passed, should be searched.

A tribe of wandering Arabs should be treated with, that he might proceed to the Oasis of Ammon, not far from the lake Moeris, and from thence to the temple of Jupiter

Jupiter Ammon, fo famous in antiquity, and where the ancient language of Egypt might be hoped to be recovered; and, perhaps, books which might ferve to interpret the hier roglyphics apping bus, and boars, sevien

people, and the monuments, they contain, now lost to the world, described,

A stay of eight or ten days should be made at Syene, to discover the Solstitial well, and verify the admirable observation of the ancient Egyptian priests, who when the sun arrived at the tropic saw his entire image, at noon, in the water, at the bottom of this astronog mical well,

No European, for these eighteen hundred years, has travelled the places I have mentioned, or verified the facts. Such discoveries require a man well acquainted with antiquity, and perfectly instructed in the manners religion, and language of the Arabs; nor need such a man end his travels here: he might pass the red sea, as a Mahometan merchant, visit all its ports, rest some months at Moka, where he would find rare manuscripts; go to Sannaa, the ancient capital of the kings of the Homeritæ, who governed Yemen, in

the time of the Ptolemics, examine this fich country, and joining the caravan, repair to Mecca. Here he might remain under the pretence of religion and trade, examine the library begun long before Mahomet, buy the scarcest manuscripts, or have them copied, and, after having observed the religion, commerce, and buildings in that city, as ancient as Ishmael, he might depart with the caravan of Damascus, and repose, after his satigue, in that beautiful capital of Syria, where he might also procure a great number of uncommon books, &c. &c. as and A to steed guit

Whoever could succeed in such a voyage, the pains and perils of which are innumerable, might afford Europe a history, absolutely new, concerning the nations of Arabia; the interior parts of which are as little known as the forests of New Zealand. Numerous interesting discoveries might be added to natural history, and geography and, perhaps, he would have the happiness to restore to Tacitus, Livy, and Diodorus Siculus those parts of their immortal works which are lost; for they were translated by the Arabs.

When I had finished my translation of the Koran, and the life of Mahomet, full of enthusiasm

enthufialm for fcience, this was the plant I then proposed to myself, Obstacles occurred, which prevented its execution, and gave me which chagrin but the laws of necessity must be obeyed milhave fince abandoned my proled and how confess I want courage to undertake it; because, from experience, I know the dangers that must be encountered; and, because, after five years abode in my native country, to the climate of which I am once more accustomed, my health might not, a fecond time, perhaps, support the devouring heats of Africa and Arabia. Yet let me hope fome European, thirsting for fame, and more rich, or more favoured, than I am will gain immortality by collecting the information and manuscripts I have described; and, particularly, by acquiring for more enlightened nations the unknown history of the people of Yemen, Mecca, Medina, and the interior parts of Arabia. 2029 bas .v

Such is the information which five years travels over the East, and the study of the antients, have procured me. You, Sir, who, from that charming retreat which your labours and knowledge have enriched with the rarest

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rarest plants the world contains, and a multitude of scarce books, have supplied me with the necessary leisure to collect, and arrange, these letters, published under the auspices of an august prince, who honours you with his esteem; may you find pleasure in reading them, and accept them as a testimony of gratitude.

I have the honour to be, Sir, Sir,

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Humble fervant, and A

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#### ERRATA

Voz. I. 105, l. 4, for Hadgi, read Hadge.
189, l. 64, et alibi paffim, for Cheik, read Sheik.
275, for Charakhania, read Sharakania.
Voz. II. 383, l. 17, for Nicopolis, read Nilopolis;